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Dialect in Aristophanes
and the Politics of Language
in Ancient Greek Literature

STEPHEN COLVIN

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Preface

VARIATION and innovation in language are generally seen as decline, and dialects (social or regional) as imperfect approximations to a norm, instead of parallel varieties with linguistic histories which are just as complex and structured as the prestige dialect. In other words, the language of dialect speakers is often assimilated to that of 'foreigners' (i.e. people who make mistakes as a result of having a different mother tongue), and an idiom which is socially unacceptable is mistakenly categorized as linguistically incorrect. This attitude towards language is bound up with an array of political and historical circumstances; there is no reason to suppose it is a sociolinguistic universal.

When characters in the novels of Tobias Smollett and Walter Scott describe the Scottish dialect of English as 'Doric', they are using the term in a sense which was alien to the ancient Greeks. Nevertheless, it is not coincidental that in both cases it is Scots English that is being assimilated to Doric and not, say, West Country English; there is an interesting assimilation of Scottish and Doric *mores* in the popular imagination. This book attempts to explore (and contrast) the relationship between real and literary dialect, and attitudes toward linguistic variation in ancient Greece. It contains a discussion of the use of dialect in literature (including English literature); an analysis of the use of dialect and barbaric language in Greek literature; and a comparative grammar of the epichoric dialects as reproduced in Aristophanes and the fragments of Old Comedy. The comparative grammar is for reference: readers who prefer not to plough through every paragraph may consult the summaries at the end of each section and refer to individual headings as necessary.

I have many debts to friends, colleagues, and teachers; in particular to Anna Morpurgo Davies, who supervised the doctoral thesis at Oxford on which the present work is based, and was

characteristically generous with her time and expertise; and to Peter C. McG. Brown, who read and commented on the entire book in draft form with patience and acumen. I am also grateful to John Penney for supervising the work at an early stage (and later re-reading it), and to Albio Cassio and Katrina Hayward for many insights, both in personal comments and in published material. Alan Sommerstein and Jeffrey Henderson replied promptly and courteously to queries and gave valuable comments on the history of the text of Aristophanes. Colleagues at University College London who had particular chunks of material thrust on them for comment include Maria Broggiato, Patrick Considine, Stephen Instone, and Naoko Yamagata; Walter Cockle provided me with bibliographical material. I have benefited much from their kind help. Finally Leofranc Holford-Strevens at the OUP not only helped in making the layout of the manuscript reader-friendly, but also made numerous scholarly corrections and suggestions for which I am most grateful. Needless to say, I take sole responsibility for errors and peculiarities which remain.

The work was funded by a British Academy studentship and by a research scholarship at St John's College, Oxford; I completed work on the book while a British Academy Research Fellow at University College London, and then as a member of the Department of Classics at Yale University. It is a pleasure to record thanks to all of these institutions.

S.C.

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Editions and Abbreviations

EDITIONS

Unless otherwise stated, references to the extant plays of Aristophanes are based on the following editions:

Lysistrata J. J. Henderson, *Aristophanes: Lysistrata* (Oxford, 1987).

Acharnians A. H. Sommerstein, *Aristophanes: Acharnians* (Warminster, 1980).

References to other plays (and to the apparatus of *Acharnians*) are based on:

Aristophane, ed. V. Coulon, transl. H. van Daele, 5 vols. (Paris 1923-30).

The following editions (comic plays and fragments) are cited by editor:

Blaydes, F. H. M., *Aristophanis Comoediae*, 12 vols. (Halle, 1880-93).

Cantarella, R., *Aristofane: le commedie* (Milan, 1949-64).

Dindorf, W., *Aristophanis fabulae superstites et perditarum fragmenta*⁵ (Leipzig, 1869).

Dover, K., *Aristophanes: Clouds* (Oxford, 1968).

— *Aristophanes: Frogs* (Oxford, 1993).

Dunbar, N., *Aristophanes: Birds* (Oxford, 1995).

Edmonds, J. M., *The Fragments of Attic Comedy* (Leiden, 1957-61).

Elliott, R. T., *The Acharnians of Aristophanes* (Oxford, 1914).

Elmsley, P., *Aristophanis comoedia Acharnenses* (Leipzig, 1830).

Enger, R., *Aristophanis comoediae cum scholiis* (Bonn, 1844).

Hunter, R. L., *Eubulus: the fragments* (Cambridge, 1983).

Leeuwen, J. van, *Aristophanis Comoediae* (Leiden, 1896-1909).

- Meineke, A., *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1839-57).
 Merry, W. W., *Aristophanes' Acharnians*⁵ (Oxford, 1909).
 Neil, R. A., *The Knights of Aristophanes* (Cambridge, 1901).
 Platnauer, M., *Aristophanes: Peace* (Oxford, 1964).
 Rennie, R., *The Acharnians of Aristophanes* (London, 1909).
 Sandbach, F. H., *Menandri Reliquiae Selectae* (Oxford, 1972).
 Sommerstein, A. H., *The Comedies of Aristophanes* (Warminster, 1980-).
 Starkie, W. J., *The Acharnians of Aristophanes* (London, 1909).
 Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U. v., *Lysistrata* (Berlin, 1927).

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations, where not self-evident, are based on *L'Année philologique*. The abbreviations used in citing inscriptions, fragments, and dialect handbooks are as follows:

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Arena | R. Arena, <i>Iscrizione greche archaiche di Sicila e Magna Grecia</i> , i: <i>Iscrizioni di Megara Iblea e Selinunte</i> (Milan, 1989). |
| Bechtel | F. Bechtel, <i>Die griechischen Dialekte</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin, 1921-3). |
| Buck | C. D. Buck, <i>The Greek Dialects</i> (Chicago, 1955). |
| CGFP | <i>Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta</i> , ed. C. Austin (Berlin and New York, 1973). |
| CEG | <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> , 2 vols., ed. P. A. Hansen (Berlin and New York, 1983-9). |
| Collitz | H. Collitz and F. Bechtel, <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> (Berlin, 1884-1915). |
| DELG | <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque</i> , ed. P. Chantraine (Paris, 1968-84). |
| Diehl | E. Diehl, <i>Anthologia Lyrica Graeca</i> ² , vol. ii (Leipzig, 1942). |
| D-K | H. Diels and W. Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> ⁶ (Berlin, 1952). |
| D ³ | W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum</i> ³ (Leipzig, 1915-24). |

Dubois	L. Dubois, <i>Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile</i> (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 119; Paris, 1989).
IAG	<i>Iscrizioni agonistiche greche</i> , ed. L. Moretti (Rome, 1953).
IEG	<i>Iambi et Elegi Graeci</i> ² , ed. M. L. West, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1989-92).
IC	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> , edd. F. Halbherr and M. Guarducci (Rome 1935).
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (see Appendix I for details).
IvK	<i>Die Inschriften von Kalchedon</i> , ed. R. Merkelbach (Bonn, 1980).
K	T. Kock, <i>Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta</i> (Leipzig, 1880).
Kaibel	G. Kaibel, <i>Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> (Berlin, 1899).
K-G	R. Kühner, rev. B. Gerth, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, II: Satzlehre</i> ³ , 2 vols. (Hannover, 1898, 1904).
L-P	E. Lobel and D. Page (edd.), <i>Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta</i> (Oxford, 1955).
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9th edition revised by H. Stuart Jones (Oxford, 1925-40).
M-W	R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, <i>Fragmenta Hesiodica</i> (Oxford, 1967).
McD.	A. S. McDevitt, <i>Inscriptions from Thessaly: An Analytical Handlist and Bibliography</i> (Hildesheim, 1970).
Nauck	A. Nauck, ed., <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , suppl. B. Snell (Hildesheim, 1964).
OCEL	<i>The Oxford Companion to the English Language</i> , ed. T. McArthur (Oxford, 1992).
PCG	<i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , edd. R. Kassel and C. Austin (Berlin and New York, 1983-).
PMG	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> , ed. D. L. Page (Oxford, 1962).
RE	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , edd. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll (Stuttgart, 1894-1980).

- Schw. E. Schwyzer, *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla potiora* (Leipzig, 1923).
- SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden and Alphen aan den Rijn).
- TrGF *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, iii (Aeschylus), ed. S. Radt (Göttingen, 1985); iv (Sophocles), ed. id. (Göttingen, 1977).
- Thumb-K. A. Thumb and E. Kieckers, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, i (Heidelberg, 1932).
- Thumb-Sch. A. Thumb and E. Scherer, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, ii (Heidelberg, 1959).

I

Investigating Language Attitude

I. O. INTRODUCTION

In Thomas Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, the Mayor, a Victorian self-made man, upbraids his daughter for her use of non-standard English:

One grievous failing of Elizabeth's was her occasional pretty and picturesque use of dialect words—those terrible marks of the beast to the truly genteel.

It was dinner-time—they never met except at meals—and she happened to say when he was rising from table, wishing to show him something, 'If you'll bide where you be a minute, father, I'll get it.'

"'Bide where you be,'" he echoed sharply, 'Good God, are you only fit to carry wash to a pig-trough, that ye use such words as those?'

She reddened with shame and sadness. 'I meant "Stay where you are," father,' she said, in a low, humble voice. 'I ought to have been more careful.'

(*The Mayor of Casterbridge*, ch. 20)

The passage can tell us a number of things about the linguistic environment of Hardy's novel. First, and most obviously, it tells us that the verb *to bide* and the verbal form *you be* are non-standard English; it shows us that they are stigmatized as such (and that there is, therefore, a notion of correctness in the linguistic culture); and it reveals that non-standard English is associated with low social class and/or degrading occupations. Furthermore, Henchard's sharpness with his daughter is belied by his own English (the standard form of the pronoun *you* is followed by the non-standard *ye*), and Elizabeth's apology shows that (for some sections of society) correct language is a minefield which requires constant vigilance.

Elizabeth's English shows traces of the west-country dialect

which Hardy uses for a variety of literary effects in his novels. His description of Elizabeth's dialect as 'pretty' and 'picturesque' gives some insight into a late Victorian attitude to the use of dialect in literature.

In subjecting a literary work to this type of linguistic analysis we are not seeking to devalue the literary qualities of the text; on the contrary, since the writer has skilfully manipulated language varieties for artistic effect, the text stands as a valuable source of linguistic and sociolinguistic information. It not only records the non-standard forms, but also gives a picture of what the prevailing social attitude to those forms was.

Classical literature offers possibilities for the same sort of analysis. In this case, however, the insights that the text can provide are even more important, since the amount of information we possess about social and linguistic attitudes in the ancient world is smaller. The present study investigates what can be learned from the representation of non-Attic dialect in Old Comedy; in effect, this means that most of the data are drawn from the text of Aristophanes. Comedy can provide linguistic, literary, and cultural insights into Greek dialect in fifth-century Athens. These three types of information form a sort of hierarchy:

(i) The linguistic information comprises the raw data of the text.¹

(ii) Literary information means an increased understanding of the literary conventions which obtain in Old Comedy, and their relation to the literary conventions of other genres of Greek literature; clearly our view of the literary conventions of comedy is going to depend on the linguistic data of (i).

(iii) Cultural information, which is extrapolated to a large degree from (i) and (ii), but is also gathered from explicit statements of attitude in comic texts and elsewhere, is information which tells us about the status of language and dialect in the culture, and attitude on the part of speakers towards language varieties other than their own.

Most of the data come from Aristophanes' *Acharnians* and *Lysistrata*, with a small amount of material from the other plays—although the few fragments of other authors of Old

¹ The notion of 'raw data' cannot be pressed, especially in view of the problems in reconstructing an ancient text that we shall consider in Ch. 3.

Comedy which contain dialect can be taken into account for the purpose of comparison. The hope is that by looking at the way Aristophanes and others imitate different dialects we can learn something about the Greek (specifically, Athenian) perception of dialect. This is to follow the principle articulated by the American anthropological linguist Sapir and taken up by modern sociolinguists, that in studying a language it is necessary to discover what the native sentiment is as well as to record behaviour.² In this case we have a small amount of recorded behaviour (in the form of literary texts) from which to estimate the native sentiment. There is no reason to assume that the view the Athenians had of language and dialect was shared by Greek speakers from Cyprus to Larissa, but these are all the data we have to go on.

I.O.I. *Language Attitude*

Investigation of language attitude is a well-established part of modern sociolinguistics, both as an end in itself and also as a means of identifying, explaining, and predicting trends in linguistic change.³ The link between language attitude and linguistic change lies in the desire of individuals to associate themselves with, or mark themselves off from, particular social groups by linguistic means. There are of course other ways of doing this (for example, clothing and personal appearance⁴), but language is perhaps the most easily manipulated and flexible tool of social self-identification.

There are two principal ways of eliciting language attitude: examination of the linguistic variables used by speakers in different situations may throw light on the value judgements underlying their linguistic choices; alternatively, speakers may volunteer, or be manoeuvred into giving, more or less explicit accounts of their attitudes to different language varieties.

² Sapir (1925: 51).

³ Cf. Bynon (1977: 4), '... there is good evidence to suggest that synchronic variation in the speech community is precisely the vehicle by means of which language change progresses, the favouring or disfavouring (and thus the survival or elimination) of competing variants being governed by social pressures.'

⁴ Bynon (1977: ch. 4, §3) notes how social centres which are the source and focus of linguistic idiosyncrasies (which spread from the centre in 'waves') are also centres of local cultural patterns such as costume and farmhouse design. Cf. Halliday (1989: §1) for discussion of non-linguistic social semiotic systems.

There is no restriction on the type of linguistic 'variety' towards which the researcher can investigate attitude. It can be a regional variety (a regional dialect or accent), a social variety, a foreign accent or a foreign language (whether understood by the subject or not). The attitude towards a language variety reflects in some way an attitude towards a particular *group* (the speakers of the variety in question) held by the subject. Since the subject's attitude towards a particular linguistic variety endows an individual speaker of that variety (with whom the subject is likely to be unacquainted) with the supposed characteristics—whether good or bad—of a *group*, it must be admitted that the investigation of language attitude is, in part at any rate, an examination of social prejudice.⁵

There are a number of types of social prejudice that can be triggered off by language varieties. *Social* varieties may be associated with such qualities as moral character, intelligence, economic status, and social class. *Regional* varieties may be associated with similar characteristics, but are especially liable to evoke prejudices associated with the prevailing theories of ethnicity in the community. A group which wishes to mark itself off from the rest of the community on alleged ethnic grounds is highly likely to do this by means of linguistic differentiation in addition to maintaining distinct customs and cultural practices.⁶

Modern investigations into attitude towards language variation in contemporary societies have developed interesting methods which it may be useful to discuss here; these methods represent an impossible ideal in the study of ancient societies where there is no control over the data and no access to contemporary speakers. On the other hand, it is useful to have a foil against which to judge the inadequacy of one's sources and methods; and modern work provides a framework which can compensate for the occasional thinness of the ancient data.⁷

⁵ For discussion of linguistic prejudice see Hudson (1980: §6). A fairly typical modern example is analysed by Said (1978: 320f.).

⁶ The study of language varieties used by communities is part of the ethnography of speaking. See Duranti (1988) for discussion and bibliography.

⁷ Frösén (1974: 3) anticipated this in his *Prolegomena* (1974): 'The regularities discovered by sociolinguistics in particular may help us to fill some of those gaps which are inherent to the data on which the research of classical philology is based.' Cf. also Stewart (1985: 64) in the preface to her analysis of Old English: 'Refining our methods of synchronic inference addresses the projection problem by developing our understanding of sociolinguistic phenomena—by providing better revivifying techniques, as it were.'

Modern research into language attitude can be divided into three types;⁸ direct solicitation of attitude, examination of linguistic variables, and also analysis of the way the language varieties in question are treated in society. We can consider these briefly and their possible application to the investigation of ancient Greek.

(i) *Direct solicitation of language attitude.* Direct solicitation can produce some extremely interesting results. A certain degree of care in devising ways to elicit attitude is required, since the situation in which the information is obtained is necessarily some sort of interview environment, and, by the 'observer's paradox', information may be distorted by the methods which are used to obtain it in such circumstances.⁹ Dennis Preston¹⁰ developed a technique involving language attitude maps, which, combined with questionnaires, provide a reasonably systematic source of information. Subjects are given an outline map of the language area to be investigated (the United States), and are asked to draw various subjective dialect boundaries on to the map. They are asked both to delineate the boundaries of their own dialect region (marking it off from other dialects), and to sketch and label the different dialect areas of the whole language community. In conjunction with this exercise respondents are asked to give subjective and aesthetic reactions to regional dialects (by ranking them, for example, on scales of correctness and pleasantness), and to provide anecdotal evidence concerning their perceptions of different dialects. In addition, respondents may be asked to identify the provenance of taped voices, so that the researchers can see which regional varieties have a high social profile and which have a lower one.

Preston discovered, first, that social perceptions of dialect had no necessary link with linguistic reality; for example, respondents in Indiana tried to dissociate themselves from Kentucky, where the language variety is almost identical, but which is considered 'Southern'. Secondly, it was found that 'nowhere' spaces could occur on the dialect maps; that is to say, when subjects were asked

⁸ For which see Giles *et al.* (1982).

⁹ For a discussion of methods of dialect geography see Chambers and Trudgill (1980: ch. 2.3). The observer's paradox is discussed by Saville-Troike (1989: 113).

¹⁰ Preston (1986, 1988). The first systematic study was made by Willem Grootaers in the 1950s (see Grootaers 1955).

to sketch (and label) dialect boundaries, blank areas appeared which were not identified with any particular speech patterns. These corresponded to areas where the local culture was not obtrusive or idiosyncratic in the popular imagination. Conversely, marked cultural zones in the United States (e.g. New York and California) stood out as linguistically significant on the dialect perception map. It was concluded that dialect perception is influenced by popular culture and caricature.

Clearly there is no direct equivalent to attitude solicitation in the case of ancient Greek. What we can do, however, is examine ancient texts for expressions of attitude towards different language varieties and the people who speak them; comedy is especially useful for this, as it is an informal genre where expression of subjective and abusive opinions are part of the norm.

(ii) *Examination of linguistic variables.* The gathering and statistical analysis of linguistic variables is perhaps the technique with which sociolinguistics has become most associated. Linguistic variables which were previously filtered out of language samples and assigned to non-quantifiable areas such as stylistics¹¹ or register (i.e. those which do not affect the 'meaning' of the utterance, but which govern our impression of the speaker) are elicited and analysed; the frequency of occurrence, as it fluctuates according to speaker and situation, is regarded as an indicator of the social status of the variable or variety in question.

An example of this is the analysis¹² of language variants used by teachers and pupils in a typical classroom interaction in an Antwerp school; the researchers divided the linguistic continuum from Flemish regional dialect (ranked 1) to standard Netherlands Dutch (ranked 4) into four major codes, and ranked various stages in the classroom interaction on this scale. Thus, when the teacher enters the classroom the pupils are talking in code 1; he calls them to order in code 2, and when some pupils continue talking, he shouts at them in code 1; he starts the lesson in code 4; a pupil asks a question in code 2, and the teacher reacts in code 2; the teacher continues the lesson in code 4. It can be surmised even from this

¹¹ Cf. Turner (1973: 9): 'the purpose of grammatical description is to bring orderliness and tidiness into a conception of language, and to do this it is necessary to begin by isolating one particular variety for systematic description'—a strange notion of the purpose of grammatical description. See Saville-Troike (1989: 11).

¹² Van de Craen and Humblet (1989).

brief summary that codes closer to standard Netherlands Dutch are preferred for more formal situations, and that without this constraint speakers gravitate towards local forms of speech; the authors preface their study with the remark that there is a considerable amount of linguistic insecurity in Dutch-speaking Belgium, which has led to a discrepancy between what people think is good Dutch ('norm consciousness') and what they actually use.

Ancient texts lend themselves to close linguistic analysis; major problems, of course, are posed by orthographic conventions and textual corruption. In this study most of the linguistic data are collected and analysed in the form of a comparative grammar in Chapter 4. This forms the kernel of the work; we shall consider the level of dialect marking, the consistency, and the degree of correspondence with other sources, in order to understand what the playwright was aiming at and what this tells us about current notions of language and dialect (whether, for example, there was such a thing as 'norm consciousness').

(iii) *Analysis of the institutional role of language varieties.* The role accorded to language varieties in the formal institutions of a community is an obvious measure of their social status. There are, of course, situations where the social status of a variety does not correlate with positive popular attitude towards that variety. Minority groups may have a negative attitude to the enforced use of the majority language; for example, the use of Spanish in Catalan schools and other institutions under the Franco regime was bitterly resented by local inhabitants, and instances of this situation could be multiplied from European history. It is nevertheless important to find out what the normal social uses are of a language variety under investigation; as the case of the Flemish school above indicated, the use of an extraneous variety in formal situations (schools, political and legal administration, public inscriptions, etc.) indicates that speakers may regard the local demotic language as lacking some sort of prestige, and may therefore suffer a degree of linguistic insecurity. This is likely to spill over into all areas of communicational behaviour.

The social and institutional status of the Greek dialects is a factor that can be entered relatively easily into our picture. We know that the Greek dialects (before the *koine* period) enjoyed full

institutional status in their own areas, being used in both public and private inscriptions; verse inscriptions are an exception, falling under the influence of literary dialect.¹³

I. I. CODE-SWITCHING AND LINGUISTIC ACCOMMODATION

One of the most fruitful branches of sociolinguistics has been the study of 'code-switching' between the different varieties of speech that people use in day to day interaction. All native speakers possess a repertoire of speech-styles, or registers, that are conditioned by factors such as setting, interlocutors, topic, mood, and so on. In literary dialect, while the degree of dialect colouring in the speech of a given character does vary at different points in the narrative, this does not coincide with expected patterns of code-switching in the spoken language.¹⁴ This is hardly surprising given that the primary function of literary language is artistic effectiveness, whereas the primary function of verbal interaction is communicative effectiveness.

When we find variation in the intensity of dialect markers in literature there may be a number of reasons for this. In the case of regional dialect, this may be a reflection of the code-switching that takes place in verbal interaction.¹⁵ More often, however, variation in regional dialect is tied to the requirements of the literary medium. For example, the desire to individualize the speech of a literary creation with dialect markers conflicts, in English at any rate, with the desire to keep the writing as intelligible as possible for the reader. Even where part of the readership is likely to comprise speakers of the regional dialect that is being represented, for example Scottish readers of Sir Walter Scott, the lack of a standard orthography still impedes to a certain extent the reading of the text (this is an area where drama has an obvious advantage

¹³ See Mickey (1981).

¹⁴ Some writers tell you that a character is bidialectal: e.g. Hardy's Tess in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, George Eliot's Adam Bede in her novel of the same name.

¹⁵ It is of course possible for a writer to capture this in literary dialogue in circumstances where code-switching is such a cultural cliché that it is both easy and necessary to represent it (cf. Shuy 1986). On the whole English literature is more aware of social code-switching, and in so far as regional code-switching is represented this appears to be the result of its assimilation to social code-switching.

over the novel). Writers have found a number of ways round this problem. Perhaps the most common is to pick a limited number of well-defined, or 'heavily marked' features to signal to the reader the presence of dialect, leaving more subtle features of the dialect to be supplied by the reader's imagination. This device is interesting to the sociolinguist, as it reveals which features of the dialect are or were considered to be the 'giveaway' markers of that dialect to non-dialect speakers, and which features could be occasionally or entirely dispensed with. A second device is to increase the intensity of the markers at critical points or junctures in the narrative, thus reminding the reader of the presence of dialect, and to scale it down elsewhere. Thus the dialectal features of a character's speech may be especially noticeable at first introduction; or at the beginning of a long piece of speech, or in moments of high passion.

Linguistic accommodation is a particular type of code-switching which denotes a moving together on the part of speakers of different language varieties; this can either be roughly symmetrical (i.e. both speakers make concessions), or one speaker can make greater concessions than the other. It is a useful pointer towards the relative status of language varieties and the attitudes (of hostility, good will, inferiority, etc.) that exist on the part of the speakers.¹⁶

The phenomenon of linguistic accommodation in modern societies has been extensively studied. It can take place between speakers of quite different languages (e.g. French- and English-speakers in Quebec¹⁷), but we are concerned here with accommodation between speakers of different dialects or closely related languages. This type of linguistic behaviour is important for sociolinguistics as it sheds light on willingness on the part of speakers to modify their speech in the direction of their interlocutor; sociolinguists are interested in the motives behind this willingness. Howard Giles formulated an 'ethnolinguistic vitality' test; this is a 'taxonomy of socio-structural factors' which can be used to provide a predictive model of linguistic accommodation for a particular language or dialect.¹⁸ The criteria are as follows:

¹⁶ Another term is *convergence*. Cf. Saville-Troike (1989: 203 f.).

¹⁷ See Giles *et al.* (1973).

¹⁸ Giles (1979).

- (i) Status: economic, social, historical, linguistic.
- (ii) Demographic: the number and distribution of speakers.
- (iii) Institutional support: use of the language in public life and state institutions.

If we are right in supposing that, for example, Laconian, Megarian, and Boeotian (to take the dialects represented in Aristophanes) each had a high ethnolinguistic vitality,¹⁹ we can use Giles's 'ethnic boundary model' to get a prediction of the degree of motivation that would have existed for linguistic accommodation (Figure 1).

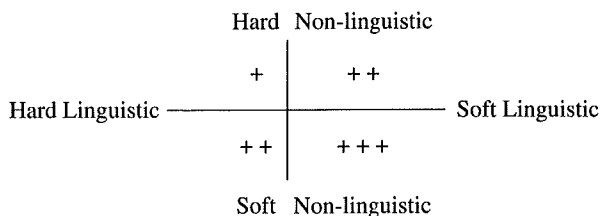


FIG. 1. Giles's (1979) ethnic boundary model

In the above model the + signs stand for the degree of motivation to accentuate divergent speech markers. This depends on the hardness of the linguistic and non-linguistic boundaries:

- (i) Soft linguistic boundary: the dialect-group feel that their language is not distinct (i.e. it has a low vitality).
- (ii) Hard linguistic boundary: the dialect-group feel secure that their language is distinct.
- (iii) Soft non-linguistic boundary: the dialect-group is to some degree dependent (politically, culturally, economically, etc.) on a dominant group.
- (iv) Hard non-linguistic boundary: the dialect-group does not feel over-dependent on an outgroup.

The Greek city-states fall into the quadrant (top left) that predicts the least amount of effort to achieve distinctiveness. There is every reason to suppose, therefore, that a certain amount of linguistic accommodation would have taken place in interaction between speakers of different dialects. Note that we have adapted Giles's

¹⁹ See above, 1.0.1. (iii)

model slightly, since it was intended for application to communities in which there are dominant and subordinate groups (e.g. English- and Welsh-speakers in Great Britain); the situation in fifth-century Greece is not quite analogous, in spite of the dominant positions that some of the city-states had in relation to others. However, the general conclusion that a group that feels secure linguistically will not go out of its way to create linguistic obstacles to communication is consonant with other studies.

In assessing the circumstances in which accommodation is likely to occur, there are two further questions to consider:

1.1.1. *To What Extent is Interactional Efficiency Jeopardized?*

There are only a few references in surviving ancient Greek literature which indicate that some dialects were less mutually intelligible than others. Nevertheless, general principles of dialectology lead us to suppose that this must have been the case; that factors involved will have been geographic proximity and genetic affiliation. There are a few remarks in various writers which point this: e.g. Thucydides 3.94,

ἐπιχειρεῖν δ' ἐκέλευον . . . μετὰ τούτους Εὐρυτάσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὠμοφάγοι εἰσίν, ὥς λέγονται.

. . . next they ordered them to set upon the Eurytians, who make up the largest part of the Aetolians; it is said that their language is the hardest to understand, and that they are eaters of raw flesh.

In this passage, however, it is clear that a people regarded as marginal are endowed with a marginal dialect, as well as nasty eating habits.

Apart from such hints, which are rare, we can only make informed guesses as to which dialects were more or less difficult for an Athenian to understand, based perhaps on studies of common features ('correlation coefficients') of the type that Coleman²⁰ produced. This work suggests that the Athenians would have found that the Greek of the Boeotians required more concentration to follow than the Greek of the Peloponnesians. There are occasional clues in the writers that the Aeolic dialects

²⁰ Coleman (1963: 106-7).

were regarded as more difficult than others. Cf. Plato, *Protag.* 341 C:²¹

Ἀλλὰ τί οἶει, ἔφη, λέγειν, ὦ Σώκρατες, Σιμωνίδην ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτο, καὶ ὀνειδίζειν τῷ Πιττακῷ ὅτι τὰ ὀνόματα οὐκ ἠπίστατο ὀρθῶς διαιρεῖν ἅτε Λέσβιος ὢν καὶ ἐν φωνῇ βαρβάρῳ τετραμμένος;

'What else do you suppose Simonides means, Socrates?' he said. 'He is reproaching Pittacus with not knowing how to distinguish meanings properly, being a Lesbian and brought up in a barbarous dialect.'

1.1.2. *Under What Circumstances does the Speaker Require the Interlocutor's Approval?*

It is well established that dialect accommodation is not always symmetrical;²² there is often a greater impetus on one side to accommodate than on the other. This is generally the case when one side is in a greater position of power (either temporarily or permanently) than the other. Presumably a Greek in a foreign city did more linguistic converging than the natives, especially when selling or negotiating: the foreigners in *Ach.* and *Lys.* are in Athens for this sort of reason, and in 'realistic' terms would be expected to modify their dialect towards Attic.

We have seen, however, there are literary reasons why linguistic accommodation might not take place in the text (the playwright is interested in maximum distinctiveness for the purpose of characterization).²³ Furthermore, the representation of speech accommodation presupposes that the phenomenon has been noticed: but as modern researchers have pointed out, 'people are often quite unaware of their own and others' accommodative shifts'.²⁴

1.2. THE USE OF LITERARY TEXTS IN SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH

This takes us on to the various problems encountered in using the language of literature in the investigation of language attitude. In

²¹ See Werner (1991) for discussion of this passage.

²² Trudgill (1986: ch. 1); Giles (1973: 90), 'if the sender in a dyadic situation wishes to gain the receiver's social approval then he may adapt his accent patterns towards that of this person, i.e. reduce pronunciation dissimilarities.'

²³ For Ruijgh's view that there is evidence of dialect accommodation in the text, see 4.2.6.2.1 below.

²⁴ Beebe and Giles (1984).

this section we shall be paying particular attention to the way sociolinguists have used literary source material in their work.

1.2.1. *Lack of Control over the Data*

It is clear by now that modern methods of sociolinguistic investigation, which were developed for application in contemporary societies where direct reference can be made to the linguistic behaviour of individuals, cannot be taken over wholesale for use in the context of ancient literary texts without some preliminary methodological groundwork.

A text can supply two types of information about the linguistic behaviour of the society which produced it: firstly, as a historical document it can provide evidence of the implicit attitudes and explicit prejudices of the people it records; secondly, we can subject it to a linguistic analysis to detect patterns lying below the surface. These two lines of enquiry should be pursued in conjunction (along with information we have from any other sources) in any sociolinguistic approach to a text which aims to understand what role language played in the society which produced it.

Of the methods outlined above (1.0.1) for gauging attitude towards language varieties, only (ii), the examination of variables, and (iii), investigation of the social status of the variety, are amenable to modification for the study of a historical society; and the success of this depends to a large degree on the quantity and quality of the texts that are available. Even where texts are used in modern studies (e.g. newspaper reports, or works of contemporary literature), reference can be made to the cultural and linguistic context in which they were produced, with the result that they generally assume the status of supporting rather than primary evidence.

Labov, the father of modern sociolinguistics, commented in a paper on linguistic methodology that 'the fundamental methodological fact that historical linguists have to face is that they have no control over their data'.²⁵ This circumstance has to be recognized; and since historical linguistics has taken the limitation into its stride it should be possible for sociolinguistics to do the same.

²⁵ Labov (1972: 100).

1.2.2. *Literary Dialogue and Real Speech: The Theoretical Background*

The nature of the relationship between literary dialogue (whether in literary prose or on the stage) and real, spontaneous verbal interaction is an interesting problem. It may be connected with the more general issue of the autonomy of the written text which has exercised theorists in the present century.²⁶

It has generally been assumed in the Western tradition of thought about language that the written language was a reflection of the spoken language: the written language was more accurate than the spoken, but was at the same time less vital, and an extra step removed from the reality it represented. The move away from this twofold (and contradictory) approach to language over the course of the present century was partly encouraged by a reaction against the text-based linguistic prescriptivism which ran through Western thought from Classical Antiquity to the early twentieth century.²⁷ This prescriptivist approach tended to view the spoken language as a rough and imperfect approximation to the formal language exhibited in written prose. Against this the new twentieth-century science of linguistics (taking its basic insights from Saussurean structuralism) applied itself to spoken language as the only true living language, and was wary of written forms of language as being more or less stilted and unnatural representations of speech.²⁸

The many different genres of written text may however be regarded as independent forms of linguistic, or communicational, behaviour: each is likely to have its own conventions and expectations. To understand the language of comic drama, therefore, it will be part of the sociolinguistic method to get inside the literary and dramatic conventions of that genre. We have seen, for example, that linguistic accommodation is a vital part of interaction between speakers of different language varieties; but we shall not necessarily fault a playwright if we do not find this in dramatic dialogue, since we are in a different mode of verbal communication where there may be other, literary priorities. Dramatic

²⁶ See Romaine (1982: 14 f.), Bubenik (1989: §1.2).

²⁷ Cf. Derrida (1976: §1.1) and Harris (1980: ch. 1) for an overview of the relationship between language and writing in the Western tradition.

²⁸ e.g. Bloomfield (1935: 8, 21, 40); see Basso (1974) for discussion. The view has its roots in the 19th-c. Neo-grammarians movement.

dialogue is not a substitute for (or a transcript of) live dialogue, but part of a specific genre of literature with its own linguistic conventions.²⁹

The linguistic behaviour studied by sociolinguists has for the most part been spontaneous verbal interaction. It is possible that part of the reason for the avoidance of written texts arises from the association of such data with the idealized language samples that theoretical linguists (structuralists and generativists) made use of: Hockett,³⁰ for example, with reference to his own work stated that 'Descriptive procedure establishes the fiction that the various utterances to be dealt with have no temporal or spatial or social order', and Chomsky³¹ likewise said 'a grammar of a language purports to be a description of the ideal speaker-hearer's intrinsic competence'. Sociologically oriented approaches to language arose in reaction to this.

1.2.3. *Sociolinguistics and Literature*

There have been a number of studies in the past two decades which have looked at modern texts from a linguistic point of view. Some have looked specifically at dialect in modern literature, others have been more general studies of the connection between literary and real dialogue. Apart from sociolinguistics itself, modern disciplines which have influenced the rise of such studies are discourse analysis and the hybrid discipline which analyses literature from linguistic perspectives (sometimes labelled 'stylistics'). Most of the studies have been primarily interested in the text as literature, and linguistic analyses have been for the purpose of throwing light on literary questions. A few have treated the text as linguistic material and analysed it for the purpose of extracting information on the language of the text.

Modern English-language studies of literary dialect have traced the history of dialect in English literature from Chaucer to the present day. This is an interesting exercise, as it shows plainly the intimate connection between the language of literature and social

²⁹ Halliday (1989: ch. 1) argues that the language of the theatre (as part of the 'social semiotic') cannot be treated as an isolated linguistic oddity, but, being part of the linguistic repertoire of society, may be analysed and related to other forms of linguistic and cultural behaviour.

³⁰ (1942); quoted (1968), p. 16, with some critical discussion.

³¹ (1965): ch. 1, §1.

developments in contemporary society. The conclusions have typological implications for any study of literary dialect. The representation of dialect in, say, English literature reflects prevailing notions of standard versus non-standard, and the political, ethnic, and cultural relations that have accompanied such notions in English history. For example, it can be shown how the appearance in literature in the sixteenth century of the comic 'peasant' dialect of the rural south of England, which came to be associated especially with the south-west, was the result (i) of a shift in the nature of the dialect of London from a south-east dialect to a more northern-oriented dialect as a result of immigration from the East Midlands and East Anglia, and (ii) of the increasing political status of the London dialect in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the attendant notion of a national standard.³²

In general, the history of dialect in English literature reflects the dominance of a single dialect which excluded all others. From Chaucer to the present day dialect was permitted in literature only for the sake of local colour; and since the use of dialect was associated with stupidity, ignorance, or laziness, its use in literature was generally associated with comic characters or villains. In the nineteenth century dialect began to be used in a much more serious way in literature, by writers such as George Eliot, Walter Scott, Emily Brontë, Elizabeth Gaskell, Thomas Hardy, and Charles Dickens. Even in these writers dialect remained marginalized, or, in the words of Roger Chapman, deviant and foregrounded;³³ there is no attempt to colour the narrative with dialect, and, though the use of dialect is serious, it cannot be neutral. The history of dialect in English literature reflects the history of attitude towards dialect in English society.

Modern works have also examined the connection between dialect and literary function, emphasizing that language-use in a work of literature is subservient to artistic purpose rather than strictly in accord with realistic considerations. For example, stock

³² Blake (1981: ch. 2), Kökeritz (1951). In 1589 Puttenham (*The Arte of English Poesie* III. iv) recommended for imitation the 'usuall speach of the Court' (but not that of the universities, 'where schollers use much peevish affectation of words out of the primitive languages'). His remarks show that he recognized that dialects which are preferred for social reasons are not *linguistically* superior to other varieties—an insight that had been lost two centuries later.

³³ Chapman (1989).

dialects are conventionalized dialects which, like the stock south-western rustic dialect, have developed a life of their own within a literary tradition and are cut off from the real speech variety which originally gave rise to them.³⁴ Such literary dialects are likely to occur in situations where (i) the author speaks a prestige dialect and has no very clear idea what the regional dialect in question really sounds like, (ii) the target audience has no clear idea of what the regional dialect sounds like, owing to lack of regular intercourse with its speakers, and (iii) the dialect is not used for realistic reasons (genuine local colour), but as a comic device or by reason of a stereotypical association with certain character traits (stupidity, rusticity, etc.). The other great stock dialect in English literature besides the south-west rustic dialect is the Cockney dialect (i.e. working-class London dialect) of the nineteenth-century.

A concrete example of the issues raised in dialect literature—and of the problems involved in linguistic research on a literary idiom—is provided by attempts to represent non-standard language in the novels of Charles Dickens. Dickens is extraordinarily good at providing distinctive idioms for his characters: these may be a function of social class, occupation, personal peculiarity, and so on.³⁵ There are also a number of attempts to represent regional dialect, the most substantial of which is the Yorkshire accent of John Browdie in *Nicholas Nickleby*. First of all it may be said that the nature of the speaker is reflected in the nature of the language. Browdie is a rough diamond, a good-hearted unsophisticated young man who plays a minor but constructive role in the novel. The Yorkshire accent was (and still is) associated with precisely such characteristics among speakers of the standard southern English. With the exception of a few lines in the mouth of a stage-coach driver, Browdie is the only speaker of Yorkshire dialect in the novel, in spite of the fact that an important part of the novel is set in Yorkshire and we meet a number of local characters. Other Yorkshire characters, who in realistic terms would have spoken a similar idiom, in fact speak in the normal Dickensian substandard English: these include the wicked schoolmaster Squeers and his equally depraved wife and daughter. Yorkshire dialect, with its overtones of honesty and rough

³⁴ See N. Page (1973: ch. 3), Ives (1971).

³⁵ See Brook (1970) for a good discussion.

virtue, would not be appropriate for these characters; their seediness and moral turpitude demand substandard rather than Yorkshire English. Browdie's fiancée and subsequent wife speaks a generally unmarked language; if an explanation is to be sought for this, there may be some mileage in the notion that as a woman she is interested in speaking a higher-prestige variety.³⁶ The significance of the dialect features, then, cannot be properly evaluated without an understanding of the literary function of the characters who speak in dialect; the dramatic roles of the various characters is the main factor in the amount of dialect colouring their speech receives. Page similarly notes how in *Oliver Twist* the young Oliver manages to preserve his unmarked speech even after falling into the clutches of the underworld; he is 'affected neither morally nor linguistically by the taint of their [the Artful Dodger and Bill Sykes's] society'.³⁷

The Yorkshire idiom which Dickens created for Browdie is instantly successful in evoking Northern English for a southern readership which is generally ignorant of the finer points of regional dialects. It is not, however, authentic.³⁸ At this point we may consider briefly what Dickens's sources for this dialect were, since this reflects an issue which will concern us in regard to ancient authors also. The possibilities include the following:

- (i) The author is a native speaker of the dialect in question, or comes from the region associated with it.
- (ii) The author consults a handbook or seeks professional advice.
- (iii) The author undertakes 'fieldwork' in the region.
- (iv) The author makes use of an existing literary tradition.

We know that Dickens used a handbook for his representation of East Anglian speech in *David Copperfield*;³⁹ and Thomas Hardy consulted an academic expert for the Scottish dialect of Farfrae in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*.⁴⁰ The Yorkshire dialect of *Nicholas*

³⁶ For this phenomenon see Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 71-4); and Plato, *Crat.* 418 B.

³⁷ N. Page (1973: ch. 4). Cf. Blake (1981), Chapman (1986).

³⁸ I am grateful to Kenneth Dover for drawing this to my attention. There is a good systematic analysis of Dickens's attempts to indicate non-standard pronunciation in Gerson (1967).

³⁹ E. Moor's *Suffolk Words and Phrases* (1823): *TLS* 30 Apr. 1949, p. 288.

⁴⁰ Preface to the novel. As a native of 'Wessex' he had no need of outside help for the local dialect.

Nickleby seems to be based largely on a brief fact-finding trip to Yorkshire in 1838; extraneous elements were no doubt taken from a general subliterate tradition of Northern English in the capital. Without including the use of standard English features, Dickens's representation has numerous mistakes in all categories (phonology, morphology, grammar, lexicon), including, surprisingly, expletives (*ecod* for, e.g., *ee bah goom*).⁴¹ Some of the features are apparently taken from the stock dialect of the south-west (e.g. *loight* for standard *light*).⁴² There are a number of archaic and poetic features, some of which are authentic⁴³ in the dialect (e.g. *thou*) and some of which are not (*dost*).

An early academic attempt to analyse dialect in Dickens illustrates the pitfalls which await the linguist who tackles literary dialect, especially that of a foreign culture. W. Franz in an article entitled 'Die dialektsprache bei Ch. Dickens'⁴⁴ proposes an analysis of the London *Volkssprache*. This is not a particularly precise definition: it might be taken to refer in a narrow sense to the Cockney dialect, but in fact Franz seems to include the representation of substandard speech in general (which is also spoken in Yorkshire, as we have seen), and also of peculiarities in the speech of characters who would have been quite indignant at the suggestion that they spoke substandard. There is no mention of the literary tradition that underpins both Cockney and substandard. Nor does the author note that substandard language is a dialect in a particular sense, being defined in terms of social class rather than region.

Firstly, in the linguistic details of his analysis Franz has problems in interpreting the orthography used by Dickens to denote non-standard features. In standard southern English postvocalic *r* is not pronounced before a consonant, but indicates, roughly, that the preceding vowel is lengthened.⁴⁵ It can thus be used as a spelling device to indicate vowel length: thus *darter* for *daughter*, and *horsepittle* for *hospital*. Franz however takes these spellings to

⁴¹ A brief and accessible account by Railton (1931).

⁴² See Wright (1905: 512), Gerson (1967: 133-5).

⁴³ In morphological terms: the phonology is obscured by the standardized spelling.

⁴⁴ *Englische Studien*, 12 (1888), 197-244.

⁴⁵ Thus *cart* [ka:t] vs. *cat* [kæt]. There is also a difference in vowel quality. Postvocalic *r* is of course pronounced before a following vowel. Discussed by Gerson (1967: 161-4).

indicate an intrusive *r*, and invents an elaborate phonological rule to account for it.⁴⁶ Similarly, he takes spellings such as *feller* (*fellow*), *borrer* (*borrow*) to indicate the presence of a 'dull vowel' followed by an *r*, which however is 'weakly articulated' and in some cases 'scarcely perceptible'. He suggests that the spellings *borrur* and *borror* would represent the vowel quality more accurately. In fact the spelling is not a phonetic attempt to represent two sounds; the *-er* is simply taken over from words like *maker* where it represents schwa [ə].

Secondly, the author is misled by his failure to take into account extra-linguistic factors in his analysis. He does not appear to distinguish between attempts to represent a different pronunciation and the literary device known as eye-dialect, whereby an author gives a rough 'phonetic' rendering of the standard pronunciation in order to indicate the low social/educational class of the speaker (thus 'I woz', etc.). The word *horsepittle* is partly eye-dialect: the second element *spittle* is not to be pronounced differently from its equivalent in *hospital*, but is humorously linked with the first element *horse*. Similarly *harf-a-crown* is different from *darter*, as it does not suggest a pronunciation different from the standard. In a commentary on anomalous vowel length he quotes *leetle* for *little* (in the sentence 'When we're a *leetle* more perfect . . .', Dickens's italics) and compares dialect evidence such as *rip* for *reap* (e.g. Kent) without commenting that *leetle* is an 'affective' lengthening not a phonological variant, characteristic of talk to babies, pretentious bourgeois speech, etc.⁴⁷ On the verb *to summons* Franz has a bizarre comment which must be the result of consulting lexica: 'it is used by educated people for *to summon* only in everyday speech (*umgangssprache*), in the literary language (*schriftsprache*) it is not, however, recognized as correct.' Apart from the inaccuracy of this statement, it is unclear whether Franz is criticizing the usage of Mrs Gamp⁴⁸ or of Dickens.

⁴⁶ 'Den einschub des *r* begünstigen dentale consonanten (*d, t, s, f*), besonders wenn ein anderes *r* in der nächsten silbe steht' (p. 204).

⁴⁷ This word occurs in the mouth of the son of a prosperous middle-class stockbroker (*Sketches by Boz: Tales*, ch. 9).

⁴⁸ *Martin Chuzzlewit* (ch. 19), a drunken and unsavoury character who performs such necessary tasks as the laying out of bodies. She uses the phrase 'When Gamp was summonsed to his long home' to refer to the death of her husband. She is trying to elevate her sentiments on this sad occasion by the use of elevated language

The points raised in the foregoing paragraphs may seem obvious to native speakers, but they provide a useful warning about approaching texts as raw linguistic data. It is to be expected that a native speaker of ancient Greek would find a few similar mistakes in our analysis of comic playscripts, but the hope is that by emphasizing the literary aims of the playwrights and by exercising a degree of caution we can keep such mistakes to a minimum.

1.2.4. *Marked Language*

Before moving on to discuss the language of the ancient texts under consideration, we should briefly consider the notion of markedness that we shall be using. This has been important in analysis of the way social information is conveyed by means of language. As the term suggests, it denotes an intention to send a social inference by the choice of one linguistic form over another. A distinction has been made⁴⁹ between *markers*, *stereotypes*, and *indicators*.

Indicators are dialect (or other) characteristics which function at a low level of consciousness. They are typically brought out by sociolinguistic research. Speakers are less aware of indicators than markers, although they may agree that they are present if their attention is drawn to them. Indicators may not be amenable to orthographic representation if they are not phonemically distinct variants. Since we are dealing with texts we should not in any case be able to detect their presence; we can only speculate about the extent to which they would have been added in performance by the actors from their own linguistic resources.

Markers are linguistic features which stand out. Hearers notice them and register the (social) information they convey; speakers are generally (but not invariably) aware that they use them. We have already mentioned the usefulness of markers as 'giveaway' features of a certain dialect in the popular perception (1.1.2); we noted that writers use markers to signal the presence of a particular speech variety, and are thus spared the necessity of

which was mostly confined to a legal context (used of a summons to a law-court, etc.).

⁴⁹ See e.g. Saville-Troike (1989: 72 f.). Compare Traugott's (1981: 308) use of the term *indexical* (similar to a *marker*).

representing the variety in awkward and realistic detail. In the case of English dialect, for example, where non-standard dialects are not dignified with an orthographic system, it would be extremely difficult to signal the more 'subtle' features of a regional dialect, especially since English spelling is far from phonemic anyway.⁵⁰

Markers are *stereotypical* in varying degrees; no hard and fast distinction can be drawn between a marker and a stereotype, although the negative connotation attached to the term 'stereotype' implies that stereotypes are often inaccurate. Stereotypes are defined socially; they are features quoted in particular social situations (e.g. ethnic jokes) by people who are unlikely to know what the precise features of the dialect in question are.⁵¹ This means that in some cases the only difference between a marker and a stereotype would be the conditions of use (they might be phonologically identical).

Although it is common practice to divide non-standard features into markers, indicators, and stereotypes, for our literary material we can dispense with the subdivision and talk in terms of varying degrees of markedness.

When faced with a literary text we can expect to find a whole array of linguistic variables operating at various levels and performing different functions. In order to sort out which forms are most relevant for our purposes we need to identify and distinguish the possibilities. The process of interpreting non-standard forms has a number of stages:

(i) We have to decide what we wish to take as the norm (in this case, standard written Attic; for which we rely on inscriptions, various prose-authors, and comparison with Aristophanic usage elsewhere).

(ii) We need to identify which forms are deviant or unusual (we are unlikely to be able to do this with complete success).

(iii) We need to imagine what the playwright intended to signal

⁵⁰ Bernard Shaw has a polemical and slightly silly essay on this ('English and American dialects') in the notes to *Captain Brassbound's Conversion* (*Three Plays for Puritans*, first published 1901).

⁵¹ Ives (1971: 154): 'If the character's speech is one which the author regards . . . as one which is somewhat grotesque, humorous, or socially inferior, the relative frequency of its more obvious peculiarities is likely to be exaggerated . . .' Giles (1979: 262) shows that a dominant group may even invent features to stigmatize in the speech of a subordinate group.

by what he wrote; how the text was performed, and how the audience might have interpreted the performance.

(iv) We can then sort and label the forms (as 'Laconian', 'paratragic', etc.) by relating them (a) to the context in which we find them (this includes the character who speaks them, and the dramatic circumstances in which they occur), and (b) to dialect sources, such as inscriptions.

In the case of literary dialect one may ask whether a particular set of dialect features are merely the stock markers which were current in the popular perception, or whether the author has gone beyond the more obvious features and included more subtle dialect touches. When the accuracy of dialect markers is being assessed *it is not completeness that is the most important criterion*; for we have seen that a system of markers is not a complete representation of the dialect. First, we have to look out for markers of the wrong dialect (as in the Yorkshire dialect of *Nicholas Nickleby*), which would indicate that the playwright had a confused or vague notion of speech styles in other parts of the country. Secondly, the quantity of dialect features can tell us something: if the speech is densely packed with dialect features it is likely that some features have been represented which are *not* usually markers in the popular sense outlined above. This would indicate a high degree of familiarity with the dialect in question. Likewise, a sparse scattering of features suggests that the author is not so familiar with the dialect that he can reproduce anything more than the stock markers associated with that dialect. There are stereotypical phrases and expletives associated with the various dialects in Greek, and these are an obvious and easy way for someone who is not familiar with the genuine phonological or morphological characteristics to suggest the presence of a particular dialect. For example, an English-speaker who peppers his speech with *Mamma mia!* can be assumed to be imitating an Italian (a common device in television advertisements for pasta, etc.).

In the case of literary dialect we have also to consider what conventions, if any, are available to an author for the representation of (a) a non-standard dialect, or (b) in the absence of a standard, a non-native dialect. The second case applies to ancient Greek authors such as Aristophanes, who, an Athenian himself, tried to represent the dialect of Sparta, Megara, and Boeotia in his

plays. While these three regions all had good systems for writing their own dialects, they employed slightly different varieties of the Greek alphabet from Athens,⁵² and slightly different spelling conventions. Aristophanes could not therefore switch directly into the Boeotian writing system when he wanted to represent the speech of a Boeotian character, and in any case there is no reason to suppose that he would have known any writing system other than the ones that were used at Athens. He therefore had to find ways of representing Boeotian speech in his native alphabet, and we have to decide what we think he meant to signal by the spellings we find in our manuscripts. It is at any rate clear that he did not have ready-made spellings available for *all* the nuances of a non-Attic dialect.⁵³

Dialect markers in the text, therefore, are aspects of non-Attic speech which were amenable to being represented in the alphabets in use at Athens. They are intended to convey to the audience and/or actors the fact that a particular dialect is being represented; in this respect they are similar to a stage-prop such as a turret, which indicates, for example, that the scene of the action is a castle.

1.2.5. *The Semiotic Status of Markers*

We have noted that the structure of interaction in literary dialogue is different in important respects from live conversation, and this has at least one implication for the study of linguistic codes: since in literary discourse there are always *two* communicative events in operation (i.e. between the characters in the drama, and between the playwright and the audience), rather than one (as is the case with live discourse), we have to bear in mind in our analysis that the variables in the text represent two levels of discourse.⁵⁴ In this context the question arises of what sort of 'signs' markers are. In real speech (as opposed to 'theatre speech') they are *indices* rather than *icons* or *symbols*, in Peirce's classification.⁵⁵

an index 'signifies its object solely by virtue of being really connected with it' (e.g. the fluid in a thermometer, the symptoms of a disease).

⁵² See Jeffery (1990).

⁵³ See the discussion in 3.1.

⁵⁴ Cf. Hymes (1974: part I), Burns (1974: ch. 1), Saville-Troike (1989: 26 f.).

⁵⁵ Peirce (1885), followed by Abercrombie (1967): cf. Laver and Trudgill (1979). Elam (1980: 21) and others have pointed out that there is no such thing as a 'pure' icon, index, or symbol.

an icon refers to something by virtue of 'a mere resemblance' (e.g. a diagram or metaphor).

a symbol 'is related to its object only in consequence of a mental association, and depends upon a habit'.

In the real world dialect markers are indices which reveal group membership (e.g. a regional group).

However, we have said that a dramatic text cannot be treated as raw data in this sense: what we have in the text are the playwright's representations of dialect markers, which may be more or less accurate, and which in any case are seen through the filter of literary convention. Analogously, a mink coat worn in the street is an index of wealth and social group membership; a (fake) mink on the stage resembles (iconically) a real mink, and denotes certain things to the audience about the character wearing it. Markers in the text, then, are primarily signs which denote by virtue of their iconicity. However, it is clear that there is a large element of symbolism in dramatic signs; that is to say, signs which have meaning by virtue of established dramatic conventions. For example, non-accurate stereotypes might denote by means of a conventional rule; on a less trivial level, many textual conventions (e.g. soliloquy) are part iconic and part symbolic.

The stage sign has both denotation and connotation: the denotation of a package of dialect markers is the real dialect that is being represented (Laconian, etc.); the connotation is a product of the social psychology of the community, and relates the sign to the 'social, moral, and ideological values of the community'.⁵⁶ Thus, the audience hears a package of markers and realizes that they represent the Laconian dialect; at the same time a range of feelings and attitudes associated with Sparta and the Spartans (many of them connected with theories of ethnicity⁵⁷) is triggered off. This constitutes another aspect of their symbolic nature: they are symbolic since (i) principles of realism which govern their iconicity are conventional, and (ii) they have underlying connotations in addition to their surface denotation.

The markers we have considered so far are ones which indicate group membership, the groups in this case being regional groups. Other types of marker which may be used in the theatre to characterize an individual are:

⁵⁶ Elam (1980: ch. 2).

⁵⁷ See Cassio (1984).

(i) Markers indicating social group membership (social status, educational status, occupation).

(ii) Markers indicating physical or psychological state.

Markers of group (a) may be of relevance to the present investigation. Markers of group (b) are unlikely to be very relevant, except in so far as certain physical and psychological characteristics were associated with certain ethnic groups in Greece (e.g. the Boeotians were thought to be greedy and stupid). But there is little evidence of any (b) markers in the text, although it seems clear that the physical/psychological characteristics of various characters did affect their speech on stage: compare, for example, *Thesm.* 192, where Agathon is described as *γυναικόφωνος* ('with a feminine voice'); no doubt the actor made this a part of his grotesquely effeminate caricature of Agathon, but there are no corresponding signs in the text.

1.3. OLD COMEDY AND THE ARTISTIC MANIPULATION OF DIALECT

We turn now to Old Comedy and the cultural, literary, and linguistic environment which produced it. In our analysis of the plays we shall be addressing the following questions:

(i) What attitudes to foreign dialect are revealed by the dramatic characters in what they say and how they interact?

(ii) What attitudes and capabilities are revealed by the playwright in the manner in which he represents the speech of foreign characters?

Analysis of the data below reveals how consistent Aristophanes is in his representation of dialect, and in what particular areas he departs (for whatever reason) from accurate reproduction. It is also possible to get some idea of the method used in producing the dialect forms. There are two ways for this to be achieved. One is to produce foreign dialect by the application of phonological and/or morphological rules to the corresponding Attic forms. This may result in a large number of inaccuracies, as synchronic rules often miss historical changes which produce seemingly irregular forms; for example, if one tried to change a page of Attic into Doric by changing all the *etas* into long *alphas*, the result would not be

authentic since there are many cases where a long *e* in Attic is matched by a long *e* in the Doric dialects. The inappropriate application of such rules is known as *hypercorrection*. The other, which is likely to be more accurate, is the individual replacement of Attic words by their dialect equivalents, without much recourse to rules. This implies a deeper familiarity with the non-Attic dialects on the part of the author.

The answers to the questions stated above will put us in a better position to decide whether Aristophanes introduces dialect for the purpose of mocking it,⁵⁸ or whether the dialect comprises part of the realistic conventions of the genre. It does not follow that something which raises a laugh in comedy is being deliberately mocked; we shall try to decide if there is any implication that Attic is somehow superior to other dialects.⁵⁹ A common language (along with common religious practices and customs) was one of the features by which the Greeks measured their common Greekness (according to a famous passage in Herodotus),⁶⁰ and opposed themselves to the other peoples (*βάρβαροι*, 'barbarians') with whom they came into contact:

Herod. 8. 144: αὐτίς δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὼν ὁμαῖμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἡθεὰ τε ὁμότροπα . . .

since the Greeks are of the same race and the same language, and have common temples to the gods and sacrifices, and similar customs . . .

A contemptuous attitude towards other dialects would reveal that the Athenians considered Attic to be more truly representative of Greek than the other dialects.

1.3.1. *Advantages and Problems in Using Old Comedy*

The analysis has for the most part been restricted to Old Comedy, for two reasons: firstly, the literary genre known as Middle Comedy, which can be assigned to the period c.404 (the final

⁵⁸ Cf. Saville-Troike (1989: 86), 'One of the best sources of data on which ethnic markers are stigmatized and stereotyped is the imitative language markers used in telling ethnic jokes.'

⁵⁹ Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Part I, Ch. 6; Penguin edn., p. 125): '(Laughter) . . . is caused either by some sudden act of their own, that pleaseth them; or by the apprehension of some deformed thing in another, by comparison whereof they suddenly applaud themselves.' Cf. La Fave (1976) for discussion of humour as a force in self-identification.

⁶⁰ Cf. Morpurgo Davies (1987).

defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian war) to c.322 (submission to Macedonia, and the date of Menander's début), extends into the period when the *koine* (the common dialect based on Attic⁶¹) had begun to encroach on the epichoric dialects of Greece. This was due initially to the political and cultural pre-eminence of Athens, and was cemented by the hegemony of Macedonia in Greece, which took effect after the defeat of Athens and Thebes by Philip II at the battle of Chaeroneia in 338. With the gradual spread of the Attic-based *koine* it was natural that the attitude of native speakers of Attic (the Athenians) towards the other Greek dialects should start to shift, since they saw their own speech becoming accepted as a pan-Hellenic standard. Already in 350 Isocrates could write (*Antidosis* 295–6):

χρὴ γὰρ μηδὲ τοῦτο λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς, ὅτι πάντων τῶν δυναμένων λέγειν ἢ παιδεύειν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν δοκεῖ γεγενῆσθαι διδάσκαλος. . . . πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὴν τῆς φωνῆς κοινότητα καὶ μετριότητα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην εὐτραπέλειαν καὶ φιλολογίαν οὐ μικρὸν ἡγοῦνται συμβαλέσθαι μέρος πρὸς τὴν τῶν λόγων παιδείαν.

For you must not forget this either, that our city seems to have become the teacher of all those who can speak or teach . . . And in addition to this, people consider that the teaching of letters owes a considerable amount to our language—its universality, its moderate quality and other pleasant features, its learned character.

In concentrating, therefore, on Old Comedy, we shall be trying to avoid the effect of the *koine* on the perception of non-Attic dialect in ancient Athens. As an extreme example of this effect we may consider a fragment of the comic dramatist Poseidippus (*PCG* 30), who was a writer of the New Comedy period (*fl.* early 3rd c.). In a passage quoted by Heraclides, *de urbibus Graeciae* 3. 7, a character complains that the Athenians take it upon themselves to criticize the way that other Greeks speak:⁶²

ὅτι δὲ πᾶσα ἦν κατηριθμύμεθα Ἑλλάς ἐστι, μαρτυρεῖ ἡμῖν ὁ τῶν κωμωδιῶν ποιητὴς Ποσειδίππος, μεμφόμενος Ἀθηναίους ὅτι τὴν αὐτῶν φωνὴν καὶ τὴν πόλιν φασὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἶναι, λέγων οὕτως:

Ἑλλάς μὲν ἐστι μία, πόλεις δὲ πλείονες.
σὺ μὲν Ἀττικίζεις ἡμῖκ' ἂν φωνὴν λέγῃς

⁶¹ For an account of the historical and socio-political circumstances which led to the development of the *koine* see Meillet (1975: 259–70), López Eire (1981). For the rise of the prestige of Attic cf. Bubenik (1989: §0.2).

⁶² Cf. Latte (1915: 386).

αὐτοῦ τῶν, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐλληνίζομεν.
 τί προσδιατρίβων συλλαβαῖς καὶ γράμμασιν
 τὴν εὐτραπελίαν εἰς ἀηδίαν ἄγεις;

καὶ τὴν πόλιν: κοινὴν ὅλης cj. Hecker, but Kassel-Austin compare Isocrates 16. 17 for the syntax.

... the comic poet Poseidippus shows us that Greece comprises all the places we have enumerated, criticizing the Athenians because they say that their own dialect is Greek and their own city is Greece: 'There is only one Greece, but many cities. You speak Attic whenever you open your mouth, and the rest of us Greeks speak Greek. Why make such a fuss over syllables and sounds, turning your wit into unpleasantness?'

There are of course no clean breaks between Old, Middle, and New Comedy; *Ecclesiazusae* (391) and *Plutus* (388), the last of Aristophanes' extant plays, are generally thought to be representative of the transitional phase between the Old and the New periods (the first three-quarters of the fourth century), which is known as Middle Comedy. However, the two plays with which we shall be chiefly concerned, *Acharnians* (425) and *Lysistrata* (411), are safely within the Old period, in terms of both style and date.

The second reason for concentrating on Aristophanes is that he is one of the great masters of the Greek language, of whom whole works survive rather than just fragments. The other poets of Old and Middle Comedy survive in fragments only, and while interesting pieces written in dialect do exist, the absence of context makes it difficult to evaluate properly the role of the dialect. Brown and Gilman in the preface to their linguistic study of politeness conventions in Shakespeare anticipate two questions: 'Why use plays?' and 'Why Shakespeare?' They give answers which one might well echo with regard to the use of Aristophanic comedy: to the first they reply: 'primarily because there is nothing else', and against the second they quote from an earlier study of Shakespearean language: 'the more skilful the dramatist the more skilful he will be, if presenting the normal life of his time, in authenticating the action by an acceptable version of contemporary speech'.⁶³

Aristophanes was born around 450 and died some time after 386: during his lifetime he produced at least forty plays, of which eleven have survived. It might be argued that there are grounds for confidence in accepting his imitation of non-Attic dialect as

⁶³ Brown and Gilman (1989: 170), quoting Salmon (1987: 265).

representative of a popular Athenian perception, since one can see the skill with which he manipulates language in other contexts to create the comic effect he desires. At the same time, paradoxically, his artistry complicates linguistic analysis of the text: it is clear that Aristophanes, like the literary authors discussed above, has aims in his use of dialect which go beyond linguistic accuracy. The language of comedy, therefore, cannot usually be analysed on one level only. The playwright creates multiple nuances with his use of language; it has poetic and sociolinguistic resonances which interact with, and sometimes work against, the linguistic realism associated with comic drama.

It is worth adding, finally, that in Aristophanic comedy we at least leave the slightly rarified atmosphere of high literature and get a glimpse of everyday life on the ground;⁶⁴ and comedy seems to have been the only genre of classical Greek literature in which a consistent attempt was made to represent the features of other epichoric dialects when reporting the speech of foreigners.

1.3.2. *Accuracy, Convention, and Realism*

By looking at the consistency with which dialect forms are represented in the mouths of non-Attic characters in Old Comedy, and using the picture of epichoric dialect we have from epigraphic sources, we can assess the accuracy with which the linguistic features are imitated as well as the extent to which they are represented.

1.3.2.1. Defining 'accuracy'

The notion of 'accuracy' in this context is a difficult one. Firstly, it is clear that the authors of literary texts have criteria in the representation of dialect which go beyond linguistic accuracy. Secondly, the perception of dialect which the notion of accuracy implies is that of an absolute standard which may be represented in more or less watered-down versions. This is misleading; the language of inscriptions, on which our standard is based—through lack of other evidence—is one variety; presumably each of the

⁶⁴ Gildersleeve called comedy 'the bridge that spans the syntax of the agora and the syntax of Parnassus' (*Syntax of Classical Greek*, 1. iv); quoted in Poultney (1963).

dialects had other varieties which corresponded to other areas of language use.

The third point can be regarded as a combination of the first two: the concept of artistic licence grows out of the recognition that the language of everyday discourse (or of epigraphy) is not necessarily suitable for artistic purposes without modification, owing to the necessary and desirable constraints that the notion of *style* imposes. When a piece of writing is deliberately set within an existing genre, literary conventions (which embody the demands of artistic licence for that genre) apply in the composition and interpretation of the work; thus a recognized literary language emerges. Our concept of accuracy in the context of literary dialect should, therefore, be informed by considerations of artistic licence and literary convention.

The term 'accuracy', therefore, in so far as it is used in this work, will denote the degree of correspondence with epigraphic material, without the implication that such 'accuracy' in itself is a good thing in a literary context, or that it denotes an accurate imitation of a specific form of spoken language.

1.3.2.2. Comic realism

Although the emphasis of the present work is on comic drama, the authors of Old Comedy were not writing in a literary and cultural vacuum. We have to place the genre within its literary context in order to understand the potential for comic exploitation of foreigners and foreign dialect, and to see whether comic drama makes use of conventions of other types of writing in this respect, or whether it departs from them completely. This is attempted in Chapter 2, which examines representation of and reference to Greek dialect, both in earlier types of Greek literature which may be expected to have had some influence on Aristophanes, such as Homeric epic and archaic Greek poetry, and in contemporary genres such as tragedy and historical prose. All of these were in a position potentially to influence the form or content of Attic comedy.

Dialect might turn out to be the type of feature which was included in order to further the primary aim of comedy, that is, to raise a laugh; or it might be one of the quasi-realistic conventions of comedy which marked it off from tragedy. This underlines the

point that since the social function of language includes literature in the culture we are looking at (as well as in our own), an ability to deal with literature is part of the job of the sociolinguist.

The growth of discourse analysis as a separate branch of sociolinguistics has prompted interest in analysing the notion of realism in literary dialogue. The illusion of similarity between literary and real dialogue that is created in comedy raises the question of what concept of realism holds for a particular type of literature in a particular culture.⁶⁵ We have not the advantage of being able to make a direct comparison between literary dialogue and real discourse, but we can at least make a start at identifying the criteria necessary for realistic effect by comparison with other types of literature.⁶⁶

Much of the intuitive feeling of realism in comedy is based on the contrast with tragedy; for viewed in isolation comic drama is highly structured. The realistic effect, then, owes much to contrasts of the following sort with tragic drama:

(i) The subject matter, which includes reference to domestic situations, every-day issues, and politics, and is often vulgar. This is distinct from comic 'plots', which have a fantastic element; but the inconsequential nature of comic plots makes it clear that their main function is to act as a vehicle for a series of comic situations and jokes. In tragedy, of course, it is the structure of the action which is of overriding importance.

(ii) A discourse structure which is less formal than its tragic counterpart. Characters make fewer set speeches, interrupted lines are more frequent, dialogue replaces stichomythia, etc.

(iii) The use of non-poetic words, and avoidance of poetic vocabulary except when it forms the butt of the humour.

(iv) A more relaxed metrical scheme.

The fact that comedy shares with tragedy the property of being written in formal metres is paradoxical in the light of our description of comic language as 'realistic'. However, any literary dialogue can be described as realistic, regardless of whether it is set out in verse or prose. In this sense prose dialogue is rather

⁶⁵ Cf. Burton (1980: 4 f.).

⁶⁶ Cf. N. Page (1973: ch. 1): 'If the novel imitates life, then, this must be taken as an account of its effect rather than of its methods. . . . Paradoxically, this can be most successfully evoked by exploiting the conventions that the development of the genre has made available.'

misleading, since it can lead one into believing, if it comes across as very natural, that one is reading something like a transcript of a real conversation. Abercrombie (1965) in his study of the subject underlines the fallacy of this:

Most people believe that *spoken prose*, as I would call what we normally hear on the stage or on screen, is at least not far removed, when well done, from the conversation of real life. Writers of novels are sometimes praised for 'naturalistic dialogue' . . . But the truth is that nobody speaks at all like the characters in any novel, play or film. Life would be intolerable if they did, and novels, plays or films would be intolerable if the characters spoke as people do in life. Spoken prose is far more different from conversation than is normally realized.

1.3.3. *Types of Language Variety: the Notion of Dialect*

It is difficult to talk about types of language variety without first clarifying the concepts of language and dialect.⁶⁷ The traditional Western concept of what constitutes a language is too vague to be of use in a scientific context; the popular distinction between language and dialect, though thought to be linguistic, is almost always political, and it rests on the false assumption that it is normal for each political unit to have one language. The humorous definition of a language as a dialect with an army and a navy captures the general use of the terms quite accurately.

Definitions of dialect which rely on linguistic criteria are not without problems; there are many cases of linguistic continua (e.g. the Romance languages of Europe) where the linguistic borderline between language and dialect is hard to draw. So, for example, dialects on either side of the German-Dutch border are very similar, and linguistically far removed from the national standard language in each country; nevertheless, for political reasons they are likely to be referred to as dialects of German and Dutch respectively. Mutual intelligibility is not as useful a criterion as it might appear, since it is not an all-or-nothing phenomenon; it can, for example, be 50% on both sides, or there may be genuine asymmetry in the comprehension of two speakers.⁶⁸ In addition,

⁶⁷ See also Morpurgo Davies (1987: 7f.) with notes; Hudson (1980: 30-7); Chambers and Trudgill (1980: ch. 1).

⁶⁸ e.g. between Danish and Norwegian speakers, according to Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 4).

sociolinguists have noted that a willingness to understand or be understood is necessary for mutual intelligibility; this willingness may not be equal on the part of both speakers.

Ancient Greek has traditionally been defined in terms of one particular dialect, for practical and pedagogical reasons; Attic is taken as the standard, and the dialects are treated as regional varieties of the same language because of their great linguistic similarity to Attic. This delimiting of what constitutes 'Greek' is made simpler by our lack of linguistic knowledge of peripheral cases, i.e. surrounding languages (such as Macedonian).⁶⁹ Our general notion of what constitutes a Greek dialect is vaguely political (that is, one dialect per major city-state) and fits uneasily with the larger dialect groupings (Doric, Ionic, etc.) which are defined largely on linguistic grounds. Furthermore, many of the traditional dialect areas (e.g. 'Laconian') are relatively large areas containing more than one population centre, which raises the question of subdialects.

In the present work we shall adopt the position of most modern sociolinguists, who ignore as far as possible the traditional language/dialect distinction and prefer to talk in terms of language varieties (regional, social, and others); or who use the term 'dialect' without the implication that there is a significant contrast with 'language'. In line with modern thinking we shall also be laying stress on areal contact between language varieties, rather than concentrating exclusively on genetic affiliation.

There is no reason to suppose that the Greek notion of dialect was the same as our own; there are, however, some common elements. An ingredient in language attitude which can hardly be overestimated is the perceived link between language variety and ethnicity, and hence, as we saw above (1.0.1), between language variety and the supposed characteristics with which a particular ethnic group is endowed.⁷⁰ There is of course no *necessary* correlation between ethnicity and language variety: dialects are not a symptom of psychological deviance, but function as a mark of group membership. However, this was as counter-intuitive to the Greeks as it is to many moderns; traditions of ethnic kinship

⁶⁹ Cf. 5.1.5.

⁷⁰ Cf. Fishman (1977: 41), '... the recurring link between language and ethnicity cannot be fathomed without greater systematic familiarity with the nature, the mutability and the manipulability of ethnicity *per se*.'

were important in Greek thought, and speech was important in the identification of the three principal 'kinship groups' which the Greeks divided themselves into (Ionic, Doric, and Aeolic).⁷¹

It is often the case that the particular characteristics and genius of a group, including their language, are said to derive from a common ancestor.⁷² We find a reference to this belief in early Greek literature in the Hesiodic fragment 9 (M-W), which sketches the traditional tripartite division of the Greek people:

Ἑλλῆνος δ' ἐγένοντο φιλοπτολέμου βασιλῆος
Δῶρός τε Σοῦθός τε καὶ Αἴολος ἵπποχάρμης.

From Hellen the warrior king sprang Dorus and Xuthus and Aeolus lover of horses.

The three scions of Hellen ('Greek') are the mythological ancestors of the three ethnic groups. This division is linked explicitly with dialect in Herodotus (quoted above, 1.3) and in the following passage in Strabo (8.1.2), which, although late, can be taken as representative of feeling in the classical period:

Ἑλλάδος μὲν οὖν πολλὰ ἔθνη γεγένηται, τὰ δ' ἀνωτάτω τοσαῦτα, ὅσας καὶ διαλέκτους παρειλήφαμεν τὰς Ἑλληνίδας.

There have been many ethnic groups in Greece, but those which go back to the earliest times are only as many in number as the Greek dialects we have learnt to distinguish. Tr. Loeb edn., adapted.

Fishman suggests that in such circumstances 'intra-group communications that reveal linguistic traces of inter-ethnic communications are liable to criticism for lack of purity, for inauthenticity, for the moral and ethical lapses that such traces are taken to betray'.⁷³ For evidence of this in a Greek context we can turn to the remarks of pseudo-Xenophon in the *Constitution of the Athenians* (2. 7-8), a political pamphlet which is quite likely to have been written in the same year *Acharnians* was produced.⁷⁴

διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης πρῶτον μὲν τρόπους εὐωχιῶν ἐξηγῶρον ἐπιμισγόμενοι ἄλλῃ ἄλλοις· ὃ τι ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἢ δὴ ἢ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἢ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἢ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἢ ἐν Λυδίᾳ ἢ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ ἢ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἢ ἄλλοθι που, ταῦτα πάντα εἰς ἐν

⁷¹ Cf. Hainsworth (1967), Cassio (1984), Morpurgo Davies (1993: §5 n. 45).

⁷² For views of ethnicity based on 'the recognition of putative biological origins' see Fishman (1977).

⁷³ Fishman (1977: 22).

⁷⁴ 425 BC. This date is argued for by Forrest (1966: 102, 229, and cf. also 1963: 11). For the sentiments, cf. Cicero *Rep.* 3.4.

ἡθροίσθη διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης. ἔπειτα φωνὴν πᾶσαν ἀκούοντες ἐξελέξαντο τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῆς· καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἰδίᾳ μᾶλλον καὶ φωνῇ καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ σχήματι χρῶνται, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κεκραμένη ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων.

. . . by virtue of their naval power the Athenians have mingled with various peoples and discovered types of luxury. Whatever delicacies there are in Sicily, Italy, Cyprus, Egypt, Lydia, Pontus, the Peloponnese, or anywhere else,—all these have been brought together in one place by virtue of naval power. Further, hearing every kind of language, they have taken something from each; the Greeks tend rather to use their own language, way of life, and type of dress, but the Athenians use a mixture from all the Greeks and non-Greeks. Tr. Loeb edn., adapted.

It is clear from the above and other sources⁷⁵ that for the Athenians at any rate the link between language variety and ethnic group was a part of their conception of language and dialect. The present study is not primarily an examination of Greek views of Greek ethnicity, but it is clear that whatever conclusions we reach concerning the Athenian view of non-Attic dialect, and other language varieties, will have to be consonant with what scholarship has reconstructed of Athenian political, cultural, and psychological ties with the other Greek states of the period.

The speech of 'barbarians', or non-Greek foreigners, in Aristophanes has attracted attention and analysis recently, in line with the increased interest generally in the interaction between Greeks and neighbouring peoples and the effect this had on Greek perceptions of ethnicity. The representation of the speech of non-Greeks is an extremely valuable foil against which to judge the representation of the speech of non-Athenian Greeks; contrasts can also be drawn between the general depiction and dramatic role of Greeks and non-Greeks. It is clear that for the Athenians there were various levels of foreignness, and we can hypothesize that this will be substantiated in the various types of speech put into the mouths of non-Athenian characters. A hierarchy of foreignness could be illustrated as follows (from the perspective of a speaker of Laconian or Megarian):

⁷⁵ e.g. Thuc. 7. 57; Demosth. 57. 18–19; Soph. *Ajax* 1259–63; Scholia in Dion. Thrac. pp. 117, 18 f. Hilgard; cf. also many passages quoted in Chapter 2.

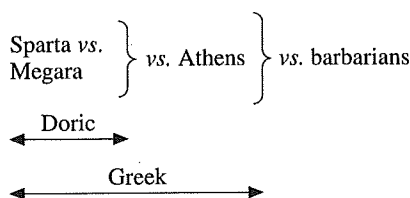


FIG. 2. Linguistic hierarchy of foreignness

What the diagram cannot show, and what would be very interesting to know, is whether the 'foreignness' hierarchy (which is reconstructed here on purely *linguistic* grounds) correlates with a sociolinguistic 'loyalty' hierarchy; for example, whether speakers of the West Greek dialects consciously felt themselves to be first speakers of 'Doric' and *then* speakers of Greek. An analogous diagram for English-speakers' attitudes to other language varieties might be as follows:

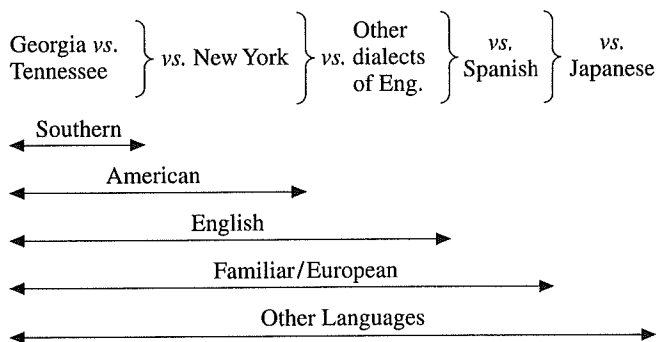


FIG. 3. Hypothetical language-attitude hierarchy for speakers of southern US English

In order, therefore, to gain a perspective on the Comic use of dialect, it will be useful to look at a wide range of Aristophanic language. Representation or parody of other types of speech oddity such as lisping and stuttering, and speech styles such as 'rustic' speech and pretentious urban speech, offer an insight into the degree of 'realistic' parody of special speech varieties that was expected on the comic stage. Since there is no doubt in most cases that such speech idiosyncrasies, like the garbled speech of

barbarians, are being mocked by the playwright, we can compare these features to the dialect features that are under examination in order to gauge the extent to which, if at all, the latter too are being ridiculed. Besides collecting instances of linguistic variety from the text we shall also consider any references to speaking that we encounter, on the grounds that:

a language's resources (or lack of) for talk about language reflect differences between the ways in which different cultures treat language as a form of behaviour. Languages and concepts of language are themselves constitutive parts of cultural patterns.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Harris (1980: §1).

The Language of Foreigners in Greek Literature

2.0. CONVENTIONS FOR REPRESENTING FOREIGN SPEECH

In this chapter we shall consider the literary precedents that were available to Aristophanes for representing the speech of foreigners (both Greeks and barbarians). It would be hard to make judgments about his portrayal of foreign Greeks—and the differences between this and his portrayal of barbarians—without knowing what the norms were in other types of literature. For we are not conducting an investigation simply into the literary style of Aristophanes; we are hoping to use information from comic drama to illuminate a particular area of Greek social thought, namely thought about language and language variation. We should therefore try to explore and account for the differences between the linguistic habits of Aristophanes and those of other Greek authors. We saw in the case of English literature that the portrayal of dialect was affected both by literary considerations and by prevailing social attitudes: also that the representation of alien speech fits into both a historical pattern whose development can be traced and a synchronic pattern which can be analysed by structural considerations. Assuming that the same is likely to hold for Greek, we shall now take a look at literature anterior to Aristophanes (epic, archaic, and other poetry), and some literature which was roughly contemporary (tragedy and historical prose writing).

This is not, of course, intended as an exhaustive catalogue of Greek literature. We need to consider a representative selection of authors who might be expected to have had some relevance to the choices made by a comic playwright. The questions to be considered are:

(i) What literary conventions govern the acknowledgement of linguistic diversity?

(ii) How can the differences between the Aristophanic treatment and that of the other authors under consideration be explained in literary-historical terms?

Tragic drama and historical prose give a particularly important perspective on the literary environment Aristophanes was working in. The three tragedians are essential owing to the nature of the relationship between tragedy and comedy. Apart from structural and thematic parallels, there is a vast amount of parody and paratragedy in the comedies¹ which shows that comic playwrights conceived a special relationship between the two genres. Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon are included as three important representatives of narrative prose. This type of prose by its very nature provides scope for reference to ways of speaking, and also shares with comedy the property of not being too highly stylized; the vocabulary is not poetic, and a degree of realism is in line with the aims of the genre. Thucydides and Xenophon are useful because the subject-matter of their work provides fertile ground for the study of language attitude; and Herodotus, although not a native of Athens, is a natural choice on account of his curiosity about ethnographic matters² and his literary prestige as the 'father of history'.

The survey begins with Homer and early poetry for the sake of sketching an overview of the history of foreign-language awareness in Greek literature. Homer and the epic tradition are generally regarded as an indispensable starting point for any enquiry into literary attitudes of the Classical period. It is clear that tragedy regarded itself as having its roots in Epic; the roots of comedy are different and not entirely clear. There is at any rate a precedent for personal invective and realistic humour (i.e. humour based in the humdrum events of the real world) in archaic poetry;³ allusions to the abusive poetry of the seventh and sixth centuries in Euripides (discussed 2.3.2.3.1 below) and fifth-century comedy show that the classical dramatists were familiar with the genre.

¹ For these terms and for detailed discussion see Rau (1967).

² There may be references to his work in Aristophanes: e.g. *Ach.* 526 ff. may recall Hdt. 1. 1-5. See Fornara (1971) and against this Flory (1980).

³ See Rosen (1988).

2.1. EPIC POETRY: HOMER

Epic is important since it was regarded in the classical period as both the prototype and *akme* of Greek literature; educated Greeks were saturated in it from early childhood, and it was a constant reference point for life and manners.

The themes and much of the language in *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the result of a long period of oral, formulaic poetry which seems to have lasted from the late bronze age down to the late seventh/early sixth centuries BC. The artificial language (*Kunstsprache*) of the poems reflects different dialects as well as different stages in the history of Greek. Ionic dialect forms are dominant, but there is also an element of Aeolic, and some Arcado-Cypriot forms. It is unlikely that the development of the poems had much to do with Athens or Attic; they cannot therefore be expected to reflect Athenian views on ethnicity or language. What is more, the history of the epic tradition (both language and themes) was such that the Homeric poems, although they are thought to be the product of a poet living in Ionia, have a pan-Hellenic quality. It is inherently unlikely, therefore, that one will find chauvinistic attitudes which are directed towards regional varieties of Greek. But since in the *Iliad* the Greeks are fighting in a foreign country, and since Odysseus' wanderings in the *Odyssey* take him to many different lands, we should not in principle be surprised to find references to foreign languages.

The evidence of the poems themselves is as follows.

2.1.1. *Dialects of Greek*

At no stage is there any suspicion that the poet has tried to colour the speech of a Greek character with regional dialect traits. Characters speak in the same artificial literary language as the narrative. There is a possible but disputed reference to Greek dialect differences at *Od.* 19. 172 f.:

Κρήτη τις γαί' ἔστι, μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ,
καλὴ καὶ πλείρα, περίρρυτος· ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι
πολλοί, ἀπειρέσιοι, καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόλεις—
ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμυγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
ἐν δ' Ἑτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
Δωριεῖς τε τριχάϊκες διότ' τε Πηλεασγού . . .

There is a land called Crete, in the middle of the wine-dark sea, lovely and fertile, surrounded by waters. The people of this land are many, past counting, and there are ninety cities—many languages are mixed together. There are Achaeans, proud Eteocretans ['true Cretans'], Cydonians, the triply-divided Dorians, and the godlike Pelasgians . . .

Odysseus is alluding to the fact that the mixture of peoples on the island means that a number of languages are spoken; since Achaeans and Dorians were both Greek, but different 'tribes', it could be argued that at least two of the 'languages' on Crete were different dialects of Greek.

2.1.2. *Different Languages*

In Homer no distinction is made between the speech of characters identified as Greek and that of non-Greeks. It is worth noting in this connection that there is no single term in Homer to cover all the Greeks (and therefore no single term for their language). The later Greek term 'Hellene' is not used;⁴ Greeks are variously referred to as 'Achaeans', 'Panachaeans', 'Argives', and 'Danaans'. There are a few references to the fact that people speak different languages:

- (i) *Il.* 2. 804 (the goddess Iris gives advice to Hector):

πολλοὶ γὰρ κατὰ ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμου ἐπίκουροι,
ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλώσσα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων
τοῖσιν ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ σημαίνεται οἰσί περ ἄρχει,
τῶν δ' ἐξηγείσθω κοσμησάμενος πολιήτας.

Inasmuch as there are many allies throughout the great city of Priam, and tongue differs from tongue among men that are scattered abroad; let each one therefore give the word to those whose captain he is, and these let him lead forth, when he has marshalled the men of his own city.

- (ii) *Il.* 4. 436 (the noise of the Trojans going to battle is compared to the bleating of sheep):

ὥς Τρώων ἀλαλητὸς ἀνὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν ὀρώρει
οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦεν ὁμός θρόος οὐδ' ἴα γῆρυς,
ἀλλὰ γλώσσ' ἐμέμικτο, πολύκλητοι δ' ἔσαν ἄνδρες.

⁴ Except to refer to a specific tribe in Thessaly. The term 'Pan-hellene' is used once (*Il.* 2. 530), but its meaning has been much disputed. The line has been rejected by some editors (so Aristarchus; also tentatively Kirk). Cf. Gambarara (1984: 53 f.), Lévy (1991).

. . . thus arose the clamour of the Trojans throughout the wide army; for they did not all have the same speech or one language, but their tongues were mixed—they were people summoned from many lands.

From a literary perspective, the point of the emphasis on the polyglot nature of the Trojan forces seems to be a comparison between the noise that they produce as they go into battle and the grim silence of the advancing Greeks.⁵ Kirk (ad loc.) is right to reject the idea that the use of three separate terms for 'language' implies a distinction between language and dialect.

(iii) *Od.* 19. 175 f., quoted in 2.1.1 above.

2.1.3. *Epithets with Linguistic Reference*

There are Homeric compounds built with the elements *-φωνος* and *-θροος*.

(iii) The Iliadic epithet *βαρβαρόφωνος*

Il. 2. 867 (from the catalogue of the ships and peoples):

Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαρόφωνων

And Nastes led the Carians of foreign ['barbarian'] speech.

This and the name of the nymph *Ἀβαρβαρέη* (*Il.* 6. 22) are the only occurrences of the stem *βαρβαρ-* in Homer. The Carians spoke an Indo-European language which looks related to other south Anatolian languages (such as Lycian). Strabo (14. 2. 28) rebukes Thucydides for ignoring this epithet in his assertion (1. 3) that Homer does not use the word (or the concept of) *βάρβαρος*.

(ii) The Odyssean epithet *ἀλλόθροος*

Od. 1. 183 (Athena, in disguise, tells Telemachus of her travels):

πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον ἐπ' ἄλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους

sailing on the sea to men of foreign speech

Od. 3. 302 (Nestor on Menelaus in Egypt):

ἡλάτο ξὺν νηυσὶ κατ' ἄλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους

he wandered with his ships among men of foreign speech

⁵ Cf. Griffin (1980: 4): 'Trojans are seen, as soon as they appear in the poem, as gorgeous, frivolous, noisy; Achaeans, by contrast, are serious and grim' (cf. *Il.* 3. 1–6). The seeds, perhaps, of the later characterization of Asia Minor. For the unity of the Greeks see also Lévy (1991).

Od. 14. 43 (Eumaeus speculates about Odysseus' whereabouts):

πλάζετ' ἐπ' ἄλλοθρόων ἀνδρῶν δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε

he wanders in communities and cities of men of foreign speech

Od. 15. 453 (the young Eumaeus' nurse offers to hand him over to Phoenician pirates):

... ὅπη περάσῃτε κατ' ἄλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους

[you will get a good price] wherever you go among men of foreign speech

(iii) The Odyssean epithet ἀγριόφωνος

Od. 8. 294 (Ares, in Demodocus' tale, thinks that Hephaestus is safely out of the way):

οἴχεται ἐς Λήμνον μετὰ Σίντιας ἀγριοφώνους

He has gone to Lemnos among the savage-voiced Sintians

Scholars (e.g. Stanford ad loc.) have become excited at the possibility of a reference to the non-Indo-European language of Lemnos. The implication that the gods speak Greek is interesting.

2.1.4. *The Language of Gods in Homer*

A curious feature of Homeric poetry is the occasional reference to objects which have two names; one which is used only by gods, and another which is used by mortals (in the two examples from the *Odyssey* the word used by mortals is not given). It is not directly relevant to the issue of dialect or foreign language, but it is an example of recognized linguistic diversity:⁶

(i) *Il.* 1. 403-4

ὃν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες / Αἰγαίῳν³.

... whom the gods call Briareus, while all men call him Aegaeon.

(ii) *Il.* 2. 813 f.

τὴν ἣ τοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κυκλήσκουσιν,
ἀθάνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίνης.

... [a mound], which men call Batieia, but gods call it the tomb of nimble-footed Myrine.

⁶ Cf. Plato, *Crat.* 391 D. Also Pindar frg. 33c (Snell-M.).

(iii) *Il.* 14. 290

ὄρνιθι λιγυρῇ ἐναλίγκιος, ἣν τ' ἐν ὄρεσσι
χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν.

... like a clear-voiced bird in the mountains, which the gods call Chalcis,
and men call Cymindis.

(iv) *Il.* 20. 73

ποταμὸς . . . / ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον.

... the river, which the gods call Xanthus, and men call Scamander

(v) *Od.* 10. 304

ρίζῃ μὲν μέλαν ἔσκε, γάλακτι δὲ εἴκελον ἄνθος.
μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί.

... its root was black, its flower white as milk; the gods call it moly.

(vi) *Od.* 12. 61

Πλαγκτὰς δ' ἣ τοι τὰς γε θεοὶ μάκαρες καλέουσι.

... [rocks], which the blessed gods call the Planctae.

Much has been written, from various perspectives, on the significance of these passages;⁷ the notion that the poet uses this device deliberately to introduce foreign (e.g. Anatolian) words⁸ is unlikely. With regard to divine speech it is worth remarking that the adjective *αὐδήεις* is applied to minor deities in the *Odyssey*, apparently denoting that they (habitually?) use human speech; as a rule it seems to refer to 'some distinctive quality of mortals as opposed to gods'.⁹ The only Iliadic example occurs when Achilles' horse Xanthus breaks into speech at 19. 407; this departure from acceptable behaviour is rapidly checked by the Erinyes.¹⁰

⁷ See Clay (1972) for discussion and bibliography. Watkins (1970) offers Indo-European parallels for 'the designation of the same entity on two levels of discourse' (p. 2).

⁸ Whatmough (1956: 74 f.) for this and other linguistic suggestions. Of course, one may speculate happily about how the words got into the epic tradition.

⁹ Hainsworth on *Od.* 5. 334 (*Λευκοθέη, ἣ πρὶν μὲν ἔην βροτὸς αὐδήεσσα*). Minor deities: Circe *Od.* 10. 136, Calypso *Od.* 12. 449. See also Clay (1974).

¹⁰ Yamagata (1993: 148) remarks 'If it is unusual for Homeric horses to talk, it is perfectly normal for them to understand human speech', citing *Il.* 8. 184 ff., 23. 417 f., 446 f. (I am grateful to her for discussion of *αὐδήεις*).

2.1.5. Other 'Homeric' Literature

Various other pieces of material (probably later than *Iliad* and *Odyssey*) became associated with the Homeric corpus.

(i) The Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo

Vv. 162–9 recount the accomplishments of the maidens of Delos:

πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ βαμβαλιαστὴν
μιμείσθ' ἴσασιν· φαίη δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος
φθέγγεσθ'· οὕτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν ᾠοδὴ.

162 ETLII: κρεμβαλιαστὴν other MSS. Cf. Humbert (1937).

They know how to imitate the voices and clattering sound of all peoples; a man would say that he himself were speaking, so finely is their song put together.

Allen and Halliday (1936) ad loc. note that the hyporcheme was mimetic,¹¹ and that the accomplishment ascribed here to the Delian women is probably that of singing in different dialects. Others have thought that different languages are meant.¹² The two views are not necessarily incompatible. Càssola (ad loc.) supposes that the women are singing in a pre-Greek language of Delos,¹³ but ll. 163–4 (people are amazed to hear their own speech being imitated) make this view implausible.

Religious centres such as Delos and Delphi had an international character and were clearly places where a wide range of dialects could be heard. Plutarch (*Nicias* 3) indicates that visitors to Delos brought choirs from their own countries with them; it is such choirs, perhaps, that the Delian women are able to imitate.

As a parallel to this passage *Od.* 4. 279 has been cited,¹⁴ but this seems unlikely. Helen walks round the wooden horse and tries to tempt the Greeks inside to give themselves away:

ἐκ δ' ὀνομακλήδην Δαναῶν ὀνόμαζες ἀρίστους,
πάντων Ἀργείων φωνὴν ἴσκουσ' ἀλόχοισιν.

¹¹ Cf. Athen. 15 D, ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη ὄρχησις μίμησις τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς λέξεως ἐρμηνευμένων πραγμάτων ('This type of dance [the hyporcheme] is an imitation of actions which are explained by the accompanying words').

¹² e.g. Schwabl (1962: 17).

¹³ 'È chiaro che nel rituale di Apollo Delio erano sopravvissuti canti molto antichi in lingua non greca; si pensa, in particolare, all'inno del poeta licio Oleno...'

¹⁴ e.g. Kakridis (1971: 46). Disputed by Anderson (1977).

... you called by name all the leaders of the Danaans, making your voice like that of each man's wife in turn.

The two passages have a common theme of imitation, but in the *Odyssey* it is voice quality that Helen imitates, not dialect.

(ii) The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite

At 113–14 Aphrodite, disguised as a mortal, explains to Anchises how, despite being from Phrygia, she can speak his language:

γλώσσαν δ' ὑμετέρην τε καὶ ἡμετέρην σάφα οἶδα.
Τρῶας γὰρ μεγάρῳ με τροφὸς τρέφεν

But I know your speech well beside my own, for a Trojan nurse brought me up at home . . .

If the native language of Aphrodite is Phrygian, the language of Anchises ('Trojan') is a mystery. The inhabitants of heroic-age Troy were generally identified with the Phrygians in the historical period.¹⁵ Reinhardt¹⁶ argues that the recognition of linguistic diversity in Asia Minor by the poet is due to the fact that the intended audience was familiar with the problem: 'es wird zur Illustration griechisch-asiatischer Mischkultur'. Càssola (ad loc.) also offers a historically based explanation:

Both in the heroic age, and in the time of the rhapsodes, the Troad—except for the areas occupied by Greeks—was inhabited by Phrygians or related peoples. These verses do not imply that the poet was unaware of the affinity: he alludes to a difference between dialects, not between languages.¹⁷

From a literary perspective this approach has been criticized as 'a resort to hypothetical historical circumstances with no thematic relevance to the world of the poem'.¹⁸ Setting aside considerations such as the poet's familiarity with the linguistic situation in the Troad, we can make three points: (i) the literary authority for not identifying Troy and Phrygia comes from the *Iliad*: e.g. 2. 862 f., 3. 184 f.; (ii) the poet will have been familiar with areal linguistic

¹⁵ See Hall (1988).

¹⁶ Reinhardt (1956: 10).

¹⁷ 'Tanto nell'età eroica, quanto al tempo dei rapsodi, la Troade, eccettuate le zone occupate dai greci, era abitata da Frigi o da stirpi affini. Questi versi non implicano che il poeta ignorasse tale affinità: egli allude a una differenza fra dialetti, non fra lingue.'

¹⁸ Smith (1981: 50).

diversity; (iii) the point of the reference to language is not that it is necessary, but that it is unnecessary. The goddess impudently embroiders her story for Anchises. What is worth remarking is that, differently from *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, literary conventions did not require the reference to be suppressed.

2.1.6. *Conclusions*

It is clear from the above that linguistic realism is wholly alien to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; indeed, even the authorial narrative is composed in an 'unrealistic' literary language. This is not surprising in view of the ancient tradition which supplied most of the linguistic and thematic material for the Homeric poems. The authorial voice is not firmly located in any particular region of Greece;¹⁹ there can be no contrast in the dialogue, therefore, between 'home' and 'other' dialect. This point has added relevance if one considers that in most cultures, Greece included, deities talk in the 'home' dialect of the author; it is not clear what dialect gods in *Iliad* and *Odyssey* would talk in. Moreover, although the heroic characters of Greek myth who appear in the two epics are indeed identified as coming from particular regions of Greece, the important place-names which appear in Homer were for the audiences of Archaic Greece vague echoes of the Mycenaean world; the epic choric dialects of Homer's time belonged to the 'here and now' world of the seventh and sixth centuries, where the *polis* was the unit of political organization, and Mycenae, Pylos, and Ithaca were unimportant rural settlements.

It is for similar reasons that the speech of non-Greeks is not marked as 'foreign' in Homer.²⁰ First, heroic Trojan figures such as Hector and Andromache cannot be located in the real world with any greater degree of geographical precision than their Greek counterparts.²¹ Secondly, the Homeric world, which reflects a mixture of Bronze Age and Archaic societies, is a different place from the chauvinistic states of Classical Greece, where citizenship

¹⁹ Although Gambarara (1984: 51) characterizes the difference between Homer and Hesiod as follows: 'La prospettiva omerica può ben essere qualificata nell'insieme di "ionica" rispetto al "continente" . . . '.

²⁰ Compare the deliberate departure from this tradition in Gorgias' *Palamedes* (fr. 82b, 11a D-K)).

²¹ Cf. Plato, *Crat.* 393 A for the Greek etymology of the names of Trojan heroes.

was jealously restricted and the known world was organized conceptually on either side of a Greek/non-Greek divide. It is generally accepted that the notion of the 'barbarian' was a product of fifth-century developments and is not to be found in Homer or the literature of archaic Greece:

In the archaic period many Greek families and communities had relations of ritualized friendship with non-Greek dynasties, and Greek city-states often looked on 'foreign' cultures neighbouring them as partners, equals, and cultural leaders . . . Even the formulaic question asked about the inhabitants of a country, for example by Odysseus in the land of the Cyclops, when he ponders whether they are 'arrogant, wild and lawless, or hospitable and godfearing' (9. 175-6), does not use language as a criterion for assessing the community: there is no suggestion that the lands of 'arrogant and lawless' men are coterminous with those of men who do not speak Greek . . .²²

This is not to say, of course, that different languages *as a fact of life* are ignored in Homer (hence epithets such as ἀλλόθροος); but they do not intrude into or distract from the narrative. Gambarara discusses this recognition of the existence of foreign languages and concludes that in Homer one finds *in statu nascenti* a system of language differentiation.²³ However, it is important to note that such differentiation as there is does not function to distinguish Greeks from non-Greeks.

Although, as we shall see, Attic tragedy follows the Homeric precedent in not permitting the representation of dialect or foreign language, Comedy is a genre which is firmly localized in both time and space, and, probably as a consequence of this topicality, permits and requires a somewhat realistic approach to linguistic diversity.

The 'Homeric hymns' consist of 33 hymns which have traditionally been associated with the 'Homeric' corpus. They represent a third strand of the oral, formulaic tradition, the other two strands of which comprise Homer and the Hesiodic poems. They are later than *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, composed by various people, perhaps in the late seventh and sixth centuries.²⁴ Their spirit is

²² Hall (1989a: 12).

²³ Gambarara (1984: 50). Cf. Werner (1983: 583), 'Das Homerische Epos kennt also das Phänomen, daß Völkergrenzen in der Regel Sprachgrenzen sind, erwähnt es aber nur relativ beiläufig.'

²⁴ And later in some cases. For a discussion of the composition and date of the *Hymns*, see Janko (1982).

much closer to the 'here and now' world of archaic Greece. The reference to different language varieties in the *Hymn to Apollo* reflects the setting of the work in a specific social context. Aphrodite's need to explain how she can speak 'Trojan' when she is herself a Phrygian can be contrasted with the Iliadic licence which ignores any linguistic problem in communication between the heroes of Troy and those of other lands; the *Hymn* thus reflects Greek contact with the peoples of Asia Minor rather than the literary conventions of a distant heroic world.

2.2. OTHER NON-DRAMATIC POETRY

2.2.1. *Archaic Poetry*

The poetry of the Archaic period is relevant to the study of literary convention in Attic comedy since its subject-matter is often invective, and it deals with events in the contemporary world rather than the heroic events of a mythical era. It was therefore available to the comic playwrights as some sort of model for scurrilous personal attacks and the exploitation of 'ethnic' differences between the Greeks.²⁵ Fragments which appear to refer to language difference include the following:

2.2.1.1. Anacreon (native of Teos, born c.570)

(a) Fr. 122 Gentili (423 *PMG*, 423a Campbell)

κοίμισον δ', ὦ Ζεῦ, σόλοικον φθόγγον
Silence, O Zeus, the barbarian clamour

(b) Fr. 92 Snell (423b Campbell)

μή πως βάρβαρα βάξης
lest you speak the language of barbarians

Eustathius and others tell us that σόλοικος (Eng. *solecism*) is equivalent to βαρβαρικός.

Too little of Anacreon's work survives for us to put these

²⁵ See Rosen (1988: ch. 2) for the influence of iambographic poets on Old Comedy.

fragments into their linguistic context. It is almost certain that the references are to foreign language rather than to varieties of Greek. It is not clear whether the two lines go together.²⁶

2.2.1.2. Hipponax (Ephesus and Clazomenae, fl. c.540).

(i) Fr. 92 IEG:

ἡῦδα δὲ λυδίῃουσα· “βασκί. . . κρολεα”.
 πυγιστί· “τὸν πυγεῶνα παρ[]”.

¹ βασκατικρολελ West (1974: 144 f.); cf. Hesych. βασκεπικρολεα· πλησίον ἐξεθάζε, λυδιστί. βαστιζα κρόλεα· θάσσον ἔρχου, λυδιστί, κρολίαζε· πλησίαζε θάττον

She muttered in Lydian ‘bask . . .’ [= ‘come here’?] In the manner of a pederast (?), ‘. . . your backside . . .’

The author is apparently describing a cure for impotence by a Lydian woman (cf. West, loc. cit.). West’s suggested emendation assumes that Hipponax knew enough Lydian to reproduce a real, grammatical phrase, but as the text (and our knowledge of Lydian) stands we cannot tell whether this is the case or whether Hipponax merely wrote foreign-sounding gibberish of a type suitable for a magical incantation. Despite the participle *lydizousa* it is clear that part of her speech is reported in Greek; we cannot tell whether the Greek was marked in any way as foreign.

(ii) Fr. 27 IEG

καὶ τοὺς σολοίκους ἦν λάβωσι περνᾶσι,
 Φρύγας μὲν ἐς Μίλητον ἀλφιτεύουσας.

If they capture barbarians, they export them for sale; Phrygians to Miletus to grind barley . . .

(iii) Fr. 3a IEG

(Tzetzes)

τὸ δὲ Κανδαύλης Λυδικῶς τὸν σκυλοπνίκτην λέγει,
 ὥσπερ Ἰππῶναξ δείκνυσι . . .
 Ἑρμῇ κυνάγχα, μιονιστί Κανδαῦλα

Candaules in Lydian means ‘dog-strangler’, as Hipponax shows: ‘Hermes the dog-strangler, Candaules in the Maeonian tongue . . .’

²⁶ Cf. Führer (1972).

On Hipponax' language in general compare Photius' remarks (s.v. *φαρμακός*):

οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες . . . διὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων παροίκησιν ἐλυμήναντο τῆς διαλέκτου τὸ πάτριον, τὰ μέτρα, τοὺς χρόνους. δημοὶ καὶ Ἰππώναξι.

The Ionians, on account of living among barbarians, defiled the dialect they inherited from their fathers, its rhythms and quantities. Hipponax is evidence of this.

There is a large number of foreign (Lydian and Phrygian) words in the language of Hipponax. These include words for cultural roles (e.g. *πάλλμυς* 'king', *καύης* 'priest') and more familiar items (*βέκος* 'bread').²⁷ The intended effect of these words does not seem to be to create an exotic atmosphere (as in Aeschylus' *Persians*, for example), but to lend a colloquial tone to the poems.

2.2.1.3. Solon (Athenian, chief archon 594/3)

Fr. 36. 8–12 *IEG*:

πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθήνας πατρίδ' ἐς θεόκτιτον
ἀνήγαγον πραθέντας, ἄλλον ἐκδίκως,
ἄλλον δικαίως, τοὺς δ' ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ
χρειοῦς φυγόντας, γλώσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν
ιέντας, ὥς δὴ πολλαχῇ πλανωμένους.

I brought back many men to Athens, their god-founded homeland, who had been sold—some unjustly, others justly—and others who had been forced into exile to escape debt; these people no longer even spoke Attic as they had been wandering so far afield.

This comes from a poem in which Solon gives an account of what he achieved during his period of office; part of his reforms consisted in the cancellation of debts, which meant that land which had been mortgaged as security was redeemed and men who had either been sold into slavery abroad or who had gone into exile to escape debt (*χρειοῦς φυγόντας*) were able to return.

There is an interesting implication that to lose the Attic dialect is one of the degradations that Athenians who went into exile had to suffer. (The poetic diction of Solon's poetry is not pure Attic, however, but a version of the epic-Ionic 'dialect'.)

²⁷ Hdt. 2. 2. See Farina (1963: 26–9) for a complete list and discussion. Rapallo (1976) discusses the possibility of Anatolian influence on the language of Hipponax and comes to some fairly unlikely conclusions.

2.2.1.4. Conclusions

Archaic Greek poetry is closer to the tradition of the Homeric *Hymns* than to *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in its acceptance of foreign dialect and language. This is not surprising given the rather personal nature of much Archaic poetry. The fragments of Hipponax suggest that Archaic authors were prepared to represent foreign language in their text; this is to go a stage further than the *Hymns*, in which reference only to the existence of language diversity is found. Although Archaic poetry is not to be interpreted within the Greek/barbarian antithesis of the fifth century, it is nevertheless recognized that language is an indicator of ethnicity, either Greek/non-Greek, or subdivisions among the Greeks.

2.2.2. Pindar

Language (spoken and written) is a frequent metaphor in Pindaric poetry, but references to the languages of the real world are virtually non-existent.

The ethnic divisions within the Greek world enter the fabric of the poetry, often in connection with the mythological forebears of the tribes. There are occasional references to literary dialect in the context of poetic genre:

Ol. 3. 4 *Μοῖσα δ' οὕτω ποι παρέστα μοι νεοσίγαλον εὐρόντι τρόπον
Δωρίῳ φωνὰν ἐναρμόξαι πεδίλῳ / ἀγλαόκωμον.*

the Muse has taken her stand at my side, and I have found a new and glittering way to fit to a Dorian sandal the voice of the choir's praises (tr. Bowra).

The use of mythological themes and the heroic tenor of the poetry decrease the scope for chauvinistic distinctions between Greeks and non-Greeks. The distinction is not ignored, however, when the poet turns from the heroic to the real world: in *Pyth.* 1 (71–5), for example, the prowess of Athens and Sparta in freeing Greece from the Persian threat is dwelt on. The Homeric notion that noise is characteristic of non-Greek opponents surfaces at *Nem.* 3. 60:

δορίκτυπον ἀλαλὼν Λυκίων τε προσμένοι καὶ Φρυγῶν
 Δαρδάνων τε, καὶ ἐγχεσφόροις ἐπιμείζαις
 Αἰθιοπέσσι χεῖρας . . .

that . . . [Achilles] . . . should stand up to the clash of spears and the battle-cry of Lykians and Phrygians and Dardanians, and fight hand to hand with Ethiopian spearmen . . . (tr. Bowra).

Noisiness is generally associated with opponents, inferiors, and wild animals (cf. Nem. 3. 82 *κραγέται δὲ κολοιοὶ ταπεινὰ νέμονται*, 'the chattering jackdaws fly low'). Quiet is characteristic of a well-ordered Greek state (*Pyth.* 8. 1, frg. 180. 2 Snell-M.).

The word *barbaros* occurs in a rather vague sense: in *Isthm.* 6. 24 the poet says that there is no city 'so alien or so harsh of tongue' (*οὐτῶ βάρβαρος οὔτε παλίγγλωσσος*) that it has not heard of the fame of Peleus and the Aeacidae. There is an equally vague use of the adjective *ὑπερπόντιος* (lit. 'from across the sea') in *Pyth.* 5. 59, where King Battus of Cyrene comes across some lions and lets out a cry:

κεῖνόν γε καὶ βαρύκομποι / λέοντες περὶ δέϊματι φύγον,
 γλώσσαν ἐπεὶ σφιν ἀπέεικεν ὑπερποντίαν.

From him in terror loud-roaring lions fled when he unloosed on them his seafarer's tongue (tr. Bowra).

One of the reasons why Battus' language was 'strange' was that he had a stammer, cured after this episode by divine providence (Cyrene was founded as the result of his quest to rid himself of this affliction). Direct reference to stammering, however, is out of place in epinician lyric, unlike Old Comedy.²⁸

2.2.3. *Timotheus*

Timotheus was born in Miletus in the middle of the fifth century, but seems to have spent much of his working life in Athens. Parts of a lyric piece describing the battle of Salamis (the *Persians*) survive on a papyrus. The work is dated to the last quarter of the fifth century (perhaps the period 412-408).²⁹

²⁸ Farnell's comment (ad loc.) remains the best: 'The sentence is a strained way of saying that Battos, having come across the sea and landed, brought his voice to bear on the lions. On the surface the phrase ought to mean that the Libyan lions were scared by the outlandish sound of his Greek tongue; but one cannot suppose that Pindar was trying to be humorous here.' The connection between the name Battos, the Libyan word for 'king', and the verb 'to stutter' is given by Hdt. at 4. 155.

²⁹ Bassett (1931).

The *Persians* is not paralleled in extant literature, and is therefore difficult to fit into generic categories. Labelled a 'nome', the poem was sung by a soloist to the accompaniment of a lyre. The poet combines realistic detail with the high poetic language and style of extant dithyrambs. The dialect is a literary jumble similar to the choral sections of tragedy: Ionic and Aeolic forms from Epic, with the occasional Doric ⟨a⟩ for ⟨η⟩ (8 πλαγά, 207 ἀγεμὸν). ⟨σσ⟩ is used in place of Attic ⟨ττ⟩.

The poem contains four pieces of direct speech, which make up a substantial fraction of the surviving 250 lines. They are as follows:

- (i) 72–81: a drowning Persian curses the sea.
- (ii) 105–38: shipwrecked Persians lament.
- (iii) 150–61: a Persian begs a Greek for mercy.
- (iv) 178–95: the King laments.

Passages (i), (ii), and (iv) are in the same literary language as the narrative. Although I have characterized the speakers as 'Persian', the text is rather vague and seems not to distinguish clearly between Lydians, Phrygians, and Persians. Passage (iii) is extraordinary in that the barbarian (described as a 'native of fertile Celaenae', i.e. Phrygia) speaks in pidgin Greek.

ἔπω μοί σοι κῶς καὶ τί πράγμα;	150
αὔτις οὐδ' αὖ' ἔλθω.	
καὶ νῦν ἐμὸς δεσπότης	
δεῦρό μ' ἐνθάδ' ἤξει.	
τὰ λοιπὰ δ' οὐκέτι, πάτερ,	
οὐκέτι μαχέσ' αὔτις ἐνθάδ' ἔρχω,	155
ἀλλὰ κάθω.	
ἐγὼ σοι μὲν δεῦρ' ἐγὼ	
κείσε παρὰ Σάρδι, παρὰ Σοῦσα,	
Ἀγβάτανα ναίων.	
Ἄρτιμις ἐμὸς μέγας θεὸς	160
παρ' Ἐφεσσὸν φυλάξει.	

150 ἔπω μοί PMG, Campbell; ἔπωμαι Janssen

How am I to speak to you—what shall I say? [?] I shan't come here again. This time my master brought me here—but never again, father; I'm not coming here to fight, I'll sit tight. I ⟨came⟩ here to you from Sardis, from Susa, my home is in Ecbatana. My great god Artemis of Ephesus will protect me.

It is curious that the attempt at realistic effect does not extend to the provenance of the speaker, whose association with Phrygia, Ecbatana, and Ephesus simultaneously seems designed merely to evoke the flavour of the barbarian East. Gildersleeve³⁰ may be right in supposing that we are to imagine a succession of barbarians from different parts of the empire in the role of suppliant.

The language is marked by Ionicism, solecism, and stylistic peculiarity. Ionic forms include *κῶς*, *οὐδαμά*, *αὔτις*, *κείσε*. There are also forms, however, which are not Ionic: *κῶς*, for example, is followed by the Attic *πράγμα*. Many of the forms which the barbarian gets wrong are verbal, which gives an idea of which aspects of Greek foreigners found particularly difficult.

(i) Subjunctive for future indicative: 151 *ἔλθω*, 155 *ἔρχω*, 156 *κάθω*.

(ii) Confusion of active and middle ('datismos'): 155 *μαχέσ(αι)*, *ἔρχω*, 156 *κάθω*.

(iii) Personal endings: 153 *ἤξει* (note sigmatic aorist).

(iv) Prepositional usage: 158 *παρὰ Σάρδι*, *παρὰ Σούσα*; assuming that *παρὰ* means 'from' here, it should be followed by the genitive. 161 *παρ' Ἐφεσον*, 'at Ephesus'; the dative is needed.

(v) Repetition: 151, 155 *αὔτις*; 154, 155 *οὐκέτι*; 157 *ἐγώ*.

(vi) *πάτερ* is unusual as a general form of address.³¹

(vii) Absence of the definite article: 152 *ἐμὸς δεσπότης*; 160 *Ἄρτι-μυς ἐμὸς μέγας θεός*; with place-names.

If the dating of this piece is correct, it seems more likely that the poet was influenced by comic barbarians than vice-versa. The poem would then illustrate a combining of tragic and comic elements which can also be detected in the works of Timotheus' friend and contemporary Euripides.³²

³⁰ Gildersleeve (1903: 228).

³¹ Sometimes found as an address to an old man by a young: e.g. from Hermes to Priam in *Il.* 24; also in *Men. Dysc.* 171, 494 (with Handley's note ad loc.).

³² See also Sutton (1983) on the evolution of narrative lyric. It would be interesting to be able to compare the lost epic poem of Choerilus of Samos (roughly contemporary with Timotheus), which took the Persian War as its theme. This may have been the first epic to have such contemporary subject-matter. No doubt generic constraints would have inhibited realism in quoted speech, but we have one fragment (from a catalogue of Persian forces?) which touches on the polyglot nature of Xerxes' army. See further Huxley (1969).

2.3. HISTORICAL PROSE AND DRAMA

There is an explosion of data in the fifth and fourth centuries, most of it from Athens. In this section we shall look at two narrative genres of the period, tragedy and historical prose. We shall consider the historical works of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, and the three tragedians, in order to assess what the literary conventions were for the representation and discussion of foreign dialect and language in the period immediately anterior to and roughly contemporary with Aristophanes.

When Athenian literature developed in the fifth century its two great achievements were tragedy (indigenous to Athens) and prose (which followed in the Ionian tradition). These two types of literature must be taken into account in a sociologically oriented examination of comedy, since they are products of the same cultural and historical environment. Comedy and prose writing go together in so far as we assume that both bring us slightly closer to the attitudes and issues of everyday life. Tragedy makes use of a specialized 'poetic' vocabulary which is on the whole alien to the other two, although comedy occasionally makes use of it for special effect. The relationship between tragic and comic drama is important; comedy is in many respects parasitic on tragedy. The differences between the two in the treatment of the language of non-Athenian characters will have to be accounted for.

2.3.1. *Prose Writing*2.3.1.1. Herodotus³³

2.3.1.1.1. Foreign languages

Herodotus' great curiosity about the ways and customs of non-Greek peoples included interest in the languages that they spoke. It is clear nevertheless that his interest in language is not really the interest of a 'linguist' but an aspect of his interest in ethnography.³⁴ His view of language was that it formed one of the

³³ References: 1. 57, 86, 142, 172; 2. 2, 30, 32, 46, 57, 69, 104, 125, 154, 158; 3. 20, 38, 46, 55, 140; 4. 24, 27, 59, 106, 108, 110, 114, 117, 155, 157, 159, 183, 192; 6. 29, 98, 138; 7. 9, 228; 8. 22, 135, 144; 9. 9, 16, 43, 98, 110.

³⁴ It is impossible to say exactly how far Herodotus was influenced by Hecataeus in his treatment of language. It seems likely, however, that Hecataeus' practice was not far removed from that of Herodotus. *FrGrHist* 1 F 21 suggests that Hecataeus

characteristic *τρόποι* (*manners*) of a people.³⁵ Quite frequently he gives anecdotal glosses of the type (9. 110) 'the name of this meal in Persian is *tukta*', but beyond this there is no sign of linguistic analysis or comparison with Greek. It is unlikely that he could speak Persian or any other language besides Greek.³⁶ The word *barbaros* is freely applied to non-Greek-speakers; he assumes that foreigners, equally, are likely to regard the Greeks as *barbaroi*, and at 2. 158 he comments, βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους. ('The Egyptians call all those who speak a different language from themselves "barbarians"').

There is no attempt to represent a character speaking a foreign language, and in his narrative he usually omits to specify when a language other than Greek is being spoken, leaving it to be inferred from the context. There are occasional references to interpreters,³⁷ but this is not consistent. On one occasion it is specified that a Persian could speak Greek (9. 15); presumably Ionic, though the location is Thebes. A plausible case has been made for suspecting that Herodotus' statements about native informants need not all be taken at face value, and that the conventions of ancient historiography permitted the historian to use (e.g.) Greek written sources while prefacing his information with formulae such as 'the Egyptians say . . .'.³⁸ In such cases the question of the linguistic medium becomes irrelevant; and the dangers of looking for linguistic realism in the genre are illustrated.

Herodotus occasionally characterizes the speech of Persians, making them refer to the Greeks as 'Ionians'; at 7. 9, for example, there is a clear oxymoron in the phrase *Ἴωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ*, 'the Ionians in Europe'. This is a device used also by Aeschylus in the *Persians*.

was prepared to quote isolated foreign glosses to illustrate or support his argument. There is a useful discussion by Drews (1973: 15 f.).

³⁵ e.g. 6. 138; Athenian women carried off to Lemnos teach their sons γλώσσαν τε τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τρόπους τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ('Attic speech and Athenian manners').

³⁶ See Benveniste (1966) and Schmitt (1967) on Persian language in Herodotus. Ctesias of Cnidus, who wrote a history of Persia in 23 books, was physician at the court of Artaxerxes II and must have been able to speak some Persian. It does not seem to have improved the quality of his work. There is no reason to suppose, however, that he departed from the conventions of Greek prose writing with regard to the treatment of language difference.

³⁷ e.g. 1. 86, 2. 154, 3. 20, 38, 140, 4. 24. For an exhaustive list of references to interpreters in classical literature see Gehman (1914). ³⁸ See Müller (1992).

Herodotus was aware of language-mixing as a phenomenon which accompanied the union of two 'peoples' (e.g. the Geloni at 4. 108 speak a mixture of Greek and Scythian). He was obviously interested in language as a cultural and political emanation; hence his detailed account of Psammetichus' linguistic experiment (2. 2) to find out whether the Egyptians were the 'oldest' people on earth, and his speculation in 1. 56 ff. about peoples and language in early Greece. He takes the common step of associating the character of a language with the perceived characteristics of its speakers: at 4. 183 a description of the outlandish habits of the Garamantes is followed by the remark *γλώσσαν δὲ οὐδεμιῇ ἄλλῃ παρομοίην νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τετρίγασι κατὰ περ αἱ νυκτερίδες*. ('they have a language which is similar to no other; rather, they twitter like bats'). The Scythian cannibal tribe (4. 106) is likewise linguistically isolated.

2.3.1.1.2. Greek dialect

There is no representation of non-Ionic dialect in Herodotus,³⁹ nor any recognition in the narrative that speakers are using different dialects. At 3. 55 he uses the Attic-Ionic term *δῆμος* to describe a feature of political organization in Sparta that would have been called *κῶμα* in Laconian.⁴⁰ However, at 9. 11 he quotes the direct words of the ephors, that the Spartan army was marching *ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους*, 'against the foreigners'; Herodotus comments *ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους*, 'for the *barbaroi* they called the *xeinoi*'. Nevertheless (if the tradition is correct) he gives the Spartan word *ξένος* an Ionic vowel in the first syllable, thus reproducing the lexical item but not the phonology associated with Laconian. That occasional dialect glosses are produced simply to illuminate the narrative is illustrated by 7. 231, where Herodotus tells the story of Aristodemus, who (owing to illness) did not fight with Leonidas' three hundred at Thermopylae, and was named *ὁ τρέσας* ('the coward') when he got back to Sparta. This was clearly the standard term in Laconian dialect for those who disgraced themselves in battle.⁴¹

³⁹ There are, however, some non-Ionic forms in the dialect of the narrative. The history of the text (which has no doubt suffered both Atticization and the introduction of dialect by copyists) makes it difficult to assess what the author may have intended in the autograph. For a recent attempt to deal with the problem see Rosén's introduction to his Teubner edition (vol. i, Leipzig 1987).

⁴⁰ Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 980-1, where the Spartan herald asks for the *γερωχία* and *πρυτάνεις* of the Athenians. See 4. 4. 11.

⁴¹ See LSJ s.v.

Reference to the fact of dialect difference among the Greeks is made when this forms part of Herodotus' general description of life and manners; indeed, the detailed account of the dialects of Ionia (1. 142) shows that he had investigated the matter quite carefully. He is clearly aware of the general principle that geographical proximity is a factor in similarity between dialects.

At 7. 9 Herodotus puts a condemnation of inter-Greek fighting into the mouth of the Persian general Mardonius:

τοὺς χρῆν ἔοντας ὁμογλώσσους κήρυξι τε διαχρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχησι.

Speaking as they do the same language, they should end their disputes by means of heralds and messengers, and by any way rather than fighting.

This passage is to be compared with the well-known statement of the duty of inter-Greek loyalty by the Athenians at 8. 144, which is based on sameness of blood, language, and manners.⁴² Both show the importance of political considerations in the Greek concept of the difference between language and dialect.

A slightly special case is the reporting of Delphic oracles.⁴³ There are some twenty verse oracles quoted in Herodotus, as well as various prose paraphrases and references. Although at first sight it might seem that Herodotus quotes them in Ionic, they are in fact composed in a rough version of the 'epic' dialect. This in effect means Homeric diction, though there are echoes of Hesiod and Pindar. Epic dialect went naturally with the chosen medium of hexameter poetry; as Parke and Wormell remark, this 'gave dignity and weight to responses whose content might seem trivial and uninspired'. Being suited to spontaneous composition it was perhaps convenient for the priests to put together, and also made it easier to be ambiguous.

It is interesting that, despite the story at 8. 135 that the oracle of Ptoan Apollo in Thebes replied to Mys in his native Carian,⁴⁴ the Delphic oracle did not take the dialect of the enquirer into account in forming the reply. The one exceptional case in Herodotus is that of the foundation oracles given to Cyrene. These three oracles are given at 4. 155, 157, 159. The first is in the usual epic dialect,

⁴² Quoted in 1. 3 above.

⁴³ For general discussion and a collection of the oracles see Parke and Wormell (1956), esp. i. 33 ff., ii, pp. xxiii f.

⁴⁴ See Robert (1950).

but the second two contain elements of Doric. It is not clear why these two should be exceptions from the normal rule. They may be the result of a joint effort between delegates from Cyrene and the Pythian officials: *post eventum* foundation oracles brought prestige both to the oracle and the city concerned, which no doubt encouraged a degree of complicity.

2.3.1.2. Thucydides⁴⁵

2.3.1.2.1. Foreign languages

Thucydides' writing is a history of Greek fighting Greek, and although both sides in the conflict periodically approached the king of Persia for help, and both sides had dealings with the various 'barbarian' peoples who got drawn into the conflict, there is not the same sort of prolonged Greek-foreigner contact that one finds in Xenophon's *Anabasis* or in Herodotus.

Nevertheless the Greek/non-Greek ('barbarian') diathesis runs throughout Thucydides' narrative. Language is one of the most important criteria in making the distinction, and when a barbarian people starts to speak Greek (2. 68. 5) this is tantamount to being Hellenized:

ἡλληγίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ξυνοικησάντων.
οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀμφίλοχοι βάρβαροί εἰσιν.

these people [the Amphilochians] were Hellenized with regard to the language that they now speak as a result of their union with the Ambraciots. But the *rest* of the Amphilochians are still barbarians.

This passage has additional interest as it shows that to speak a West Greek dialect (the Ambraciots were colonists of the Corinthians) guaranteed one's credentials as a Hellene to an Athenian.⁴⁶

Thucydides does not quote glosses in Persian as Herodotus and Xenophon occasionally do, nor does he quote source-documents in any other language than Greek. There is no reason to expect that he would do so; neither he nor his readership are likely to

⁴⁵ References: 1. 3. 2, 3. 3. 4, 3. 12, 22. 1, 102. 3, 124. 1, 138. 1; 2. 41, 68. 5; 3. 59. 2, 62. 1, 64. 5, 86, 92. 5, 94. 5, 111. 4, 112. 4; 4. 3. 3, 17. 2, 41. 2, 50. 2, 61. 2, 119. 2, 5; 19. 2, 77, 79; 6. 5. 1, 6. 2; 7. 44. 6, 57. 2, 63. 3; 8. 85. 2.

⁴⁶ Cf. Xen. *Anab.* 3. 1. 26 (2.3.1.3 below).

have been familiar with Persian. Mainland Greece was not part of the Near Eastern *Sprachbund* which used Aramaic as a diplomatic lingua franca; it may be the case, therefore, that any documents of Persian origin that were obtainable by a Greek historian would have been Greek versions. However, we learn from 4. 50. 2 that the Athenians intercepted letters from the King to the Spartans which were apparently written in Aramaic;⁴⁷ it is not clear whether the Persian messenger would have translated, or whether the Spartans would have had domestic expertise available. The Athenians, at any rate, were able to have the letters translated. It is interesting that at 1. 129. 3 Thucydides quotes a letter from Xerxes to Pausanias which reads like a literal rendering of Persian epistolary idiom into Greek. This suggests to the reader that an original document is being used as a source (as opposed to the creative nature of Thucydidean speeches, for example). It thus represents a deliberate stylistic choice on the part of the historian. The doubtful authenticity of the letter is a separate issue.⁴⁸

We are told (1. 138. 1) that Themistocles set himself to learn Persian after his defection from Athens.⁴⁹ The only other allusion to the Greek-Persian language difference occurs at 8. 85. 2, where Tissaphernes sends a *Kāpa δίγλωσσον* ('bilingual Carian') as an envoy to Sparta.⁵⁰ References to interpreters in other contexts are entirely dispensed with.

2.3.1.2.2. Greek dialect

Thucydides makes no attempt to represent the dialect of non-Attic speakers. His prose, indeed, is not itself 'pure' Attic, since, along with Ionic lexical formations, he uses -σσ- rather than -ττ-, and -ρσ- for -ρρ-, presumably to align himself with the Ionic prose tradition. There are not even any of the Spartan expletives that we

⁴⁷ For the meaning of *Assyria grammata* ('Assyrian characters') see the discussion of Nylander (1968) and Schmitt (1992).

⁴⁸ See Westlake (1977) for discussion and bibliography.

⁴⁹ This, however, in the 'excursus' (1. 128-38), the reliability of which has been called into question (a convenient account in Westlake (1977)). If Themistocles really made an effort to learn the language and customs of Persia he would presumably have had to master the Aramaic language and alphabet; it is unlikely that he would have bothered with the Achaemenid cuneiform script. See also Nylander (1968).

⁵⁰ It is not entirely clear whether *δίγλωσσος* means having two and *only* two languages; for one would expect the Carian to speak Carian, Persian, and Greek, and possibly also Aramaic. Cf. Dubuisson (1983: 207), and Hornblower (1982: 25 ff.).

find in Xenophon. However, it is noticeable that in Xenophon the references to language are fewer in the *Hellenica*, where he is not writing from the perspective of an eye-witness; Thucydides likewise tells us (1. 22. 1) that the famous speeches in his narrative are not supposed to be eye-witness accounts. Any attempts at vividness, therefore, by means of dialect colouring, would have been artificial. There are a few instances in reported speech where Thucydides has left a dialect gloss in the text which suggests that the direct words are being echoed: at 5. 63. 3 the Spartan king Agis is threatened with punitive measures by the Spartans:

ὁ δὲ παρηγείτο μηδὲν τούτων δρᾶν. ἔργῳ γὰρ ἀγαθῷ ῥύσεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας στρατευσάμενος . . .

But he begged them to do none of these things; for [he said] he would wipe out the charges with some courageous deed on campaign . . .

Stahl (ad loc.) noted that ῥύσεσθαι is unique in Attic prose, and rare in tragedy; the phrase may therefore be a Laconian idiom. Similarly, at 5. 16. 3 the phrase ἀργυρέα εὐλάκα εὐλαξεῖν ('that they would plough with a silver plough-share') occurs in an answer from the Delphic oracle to the Spartans; the stem εὐλακ- is a *hapax* and is likely to be a Laconian gloss.⁵¹ At 4. 40 Thucydides reports a Spartan riposte to an Athenian jibe, making it clear that the Spartan uses a word which an Athenian would not have used:

ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ πολλοὺ ἂν ἄξιον εἶναι τὸν ἄτρακτον, λέγων τὸν οἰστόν, εἰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς διεγίνωσκε . . .

he replied that the spindle, meaning the arrow, would be worth a great deal if it could distinguish the brave . . .

Athenians seem to have been aware that certain words which had a poetic or archaic ring in Attic were colloquial in Laconian, and these Thucydidean glosses (like some of the Aristophanic ones discussed below) may fall into this category.

Thucydides is very alive to the perceived ethnic subdivisions of the Greeks. Attitudes towards the different 'races' are often quoted as factors in the conflict. A *locus classicus* for this is Thucydides' analysis of the make-up of the two sides at the battle at Syracuse in 413 (7. 57):

⁵¹ For the etymology see *DELG* s.v. *αὐλαξ*. This raises the interesting question of whether the Delphic oracle used the dialect of the questioner in its reply, or whether Pleistoanax really did bribe the oracle. Cf. 2.3.1.1 above.

Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν αὐτοὶ Ἴωνες ἐπὶ Δωριᾶς Συρακοσίους ἐκόντες ἦλθον, καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ καὶ νομίμοις ἔτι χρώμενοι Λήμνιοι καὶ Ἴμβριοι καὶ Αἰγινῆται . . .

The Athenians, being Ionians, of their own accord came against the Syracusans, who were Dorians, and with the Athenians were the Lemnians, Imbrians, and Aeginetans, who had the same language and customs . . .

It can be seen from this small extract how naturally dialect difference goes with ethnic difference. The Doric-Ionic struggle was of course central to the Peloponnesian war; Thucydides mentions the dialect difference only when anomalies occur which confuse the situation. On three occasions the Athenians deliberately use Messenian troops to confuse the Spartans and their allies:⁵²

... τοὺς Μεσσηνίους . . . ὁμοφώνους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πλείστ' ἂν βλέπτειν . . .
(4. 3. 3; cf. 4. 112. 4, 4. 41. 2)

. . . the Messenians, who speak the same dialect as the Spartans, would be able to do most damage . . .

However, this type of confusion works against the Athenians in Sicily (7. 44. 6):

οἷ τε γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ ὅσον Δωρικὸν μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἦν ὁπότε παλαιονόειαν, φόβον παρεῖχε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οἷ τε πολέμιοι ὁμοίως.

Whenever the Argives or the Corcyraeans or any Dorian contingent of the Athenian army raised the paean, the Athenians were just as terrified as when the enemy did it.

That the Athenians found certain dialects harder to understand than others is supported by Thucydides' remark at 3. 94. 5, where it is significant that outlandish dialect is associated with outlandish customs⁵³ and a geographically inaccessible area:

ὅπερ μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὠμοφάγοι εἰσὶν, ὡς λέγονται.⁵⁴

⁵² Cf. also Plato, *Laws* 6. 777 C-D, where it is argued that it is dangerous for a city to keep slaves who speak the same idiom as the citizens; the Messenians are quoted as a prime example of this.

⁵³ The eating of raw meat is a bad sign in Greek literature, and may be just a step removed from cannibalism; cf. Hornblower's commentary ad loc.

⁵⁴ At Eur. *Phoen.* 138-9 Antigone describes Tydeus as 'half-barbarian' (μειξο-βάρβαρος).

these [the Eurytians] make up the largest part of the Aetolians; it is said that their language is very difficult to understand, and that they are eaters of raw flesh.

There are two documents which are given by Thucydides in dialect (5. 77, 79); these are the two treaties between the Spartans and the Argives in 418/17 during the Athens-Sparta truce. There is some doubt as to whether these texts would have been left by Thucydides in a revised edition of the text.⁵⁵ However, the work as it stands presents two dialect texts which are sufficiently corrupt to present a problem for editors, and which pose a number of interesting questions about Thucydides' sources and methods.⁵⁶

The Oxford and Budé texts (following Ahrens) take the line of generalizing features for which there is manuscript support (e.g. acc. pl. in *-ως*). Features for which there is no evidence are the change of intervocalic *s* to *h*, and digamma. Two oddities are 77. 4 *σιῶ σύματος* and 77. 6 *ἀλεξέμεναι*. The former may be the work of an editor who was familiar with the stereotypical *σιός*, and changed *θύματος* too in order to be consistent. *ἀλεξέμεναι* (cf. Ar. *Ach.* 775 *εἶμεναι*) is an Aeolic-looking form, which may have crept into the text from epic language (cf. *πολλέσσι* 77. 3, 79. 4). Bourguet⁵⁷ suggests that as a result of working on the texts of the lyric poets, the grammarians were liable to confuse Doric and Aeolic forms. Atticisms which remain in the text are *ξυμ-*, and final *-ν* in 79. 1 *κοινανεόντων*.

The problem of transcription arises with regard to Thucydides' source; it is not clear what alphabet a document containing two Laconian-Argive treaties would be in. It is likely that Thucydides had to transcribe it into the modified Ionic of its present form (modified because Ionic was not designed to represent the long *e* and *o* sounds of West Greek). If this is the case, we cannot guess what Thucydides' autograph of the transcription would have looked like, or even what principles he would have followed in deciding which Laconian features to represent in the Ionic alphabet and which to ignore. Bourguet⁵⁸ argues that we should

⁵⁵ Gomme *et al.* (1970: 131 f.) conclude that he was not likely to have retained the full text of the treaties.

⁵⁶ The question is discussed at length by Kirchhoff (1895: 103-20). See also Bengtson (1962: 130-3), C. D. Buck (1913: 152-9).

⁵⁷ (1927: 149 n. 1).

⁵⁸ (1927: 148-50).

assume a thorough-going representation which included σ for θ , lack of intervocalic σ , etc. This would mean that the text resembled that of the *Lysistrata*. But this depends on what Thucydides found in the Laconian document he was working from. For example, it is far from certain that the Spartans would have written σ for θ , and if they did not there is no compelling reason to assume that Thucydides would have made this change; he was not, after all, writing a quasi-phonetic guide for stage performance like Aristophanes.

With regard to treaties known to us from epigraphic sources, the general principle is that 'the dialect employed is the one appropriate to that party in whose territory the text was found'⁵⁹ In this case the text was 'found' in an Attic text; the natural assumption is that the dialect is not Attic because Athens was not a party to the treaty. If this is so, one might wonder why the treaties between Sparta and Persia recorded in book 8 (§§18, 37, 58) are in Attic rather than Laconian. A possible reason for this might be that the documents were drawn up in Ionic by the Ionian secretaries of Tissaphernes.⁶⁰ The change to Attic would then be easy and natural for Thucydides.

The text of 5. 77 seems to have been composed in Sparta and brought by envoys to Argos for consideration;⁶¹ the dialect should therefore be Laconian. The second treaty (§79), however, seems to have been either a joint effort, or an Argive composition; the 'same men' in §78 who brought it about are οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρόσσοντες ('the men who were working for the Spartans') in Argos, referred to in §76. 3. But the language cannot be distinguished from §77; in particular, the specifically Argive -ους is missing (e.g. the acc. pl. appears as -ως). If we have an accurate record of the treaties, this raises the possibility of a Peloponnesian *koina*, which excluded forms felt to be local peculiarities in favour of common-denominator forms.⁶² But

⁵⁹ C. D. Buck (1913: 155).

⁶⁰ For arguments that there are traces of Ionic in the MS text as it stands see Wilamowitz (1908, 601 n.); rejected by Gomme *et al.* ad loc. Cf. also Kirchhoff (1895: 143 f.), and Westlake (1977: 102 n. 39).

⁶¹ Cf. 8. 66. 3 'there arrived at Argos Lichas son of Arcesilaus, bringing from the Spartans two proposals: one stating on what conditions they should make war, if they wished that; the other, how they should keep peace, if they preferred that . . . '.

⁶² Ahrens argued for the existence of a Peloponnesian *koina* (although he seems to think it would have been the result of the spread of *Doris mitior*): 'Qua communi dialecto concilium Peloponnesiacum, cui Spartani praesidebant, usum esse pute-

this could also be the result of transcription into the Ionic alphabet, or corruption at a later stage (such forms not being part of normal literary Doric).

It is clear that, whatever their original form, the texts suffered during recopying as a result of their unusual dialect colouring. We may suppose that Thucydides had a copy of the two documents at his disposal and simply inserted them into the text at the appropriate point, perhaps meaning to return later to the passage and summarize the points of the agreement in the interests of economy.

2.3.1.3. Xenophon⁶³

In considering the question of Xenophon's handling of language a distinction must be made between the historical and the non-historical writings. In the historical writings (i.e. *Anabasis* and *Hellenica*), where Xenophon is relating matters of fact, there is some attempt at dealing with the issue of foreign languages and dialects in his reporting. In the other writings (*Memorabilia* and other Socratic works, *Cyropaedia*, and 'essays'), which are largely concerned with the expounding of philosophical and ethical principles, or the offering of practical advice, there is no such attempt: characters of all regions and nationalities speak Attic. This seems to reflect the nature of the work and the different underlying aims; the historical writings set out to report things as they happened (or as Xenophon remembers them), whereas the *moralia*, although constructed around the names of historical figures (Socrates, Cyrus, etc.) are vehicles for the discussion of general principles. Thus, for example, the institutions of Cyrus' childhood have far more to do with Sparta than with Persia. To insist, therefore, on introducing interpreters and dialect forms into such works would have been realism for the sake of itself (i.e. a literary device) rather than realism for the sake of historical accuracy. It is interesting to note in this context that there are far

mus? utrum Laconica, an ea quae plerisque familiaris erat, vulgari Doride? Hanc ab Argivis peculiaris dialecti loco usurpatum esse in foedere apud Thucydidem V, 79 . . .' (Ahrens 1839-43: ii §48. 2, p. 406).

⁶³ References: *Anab.* 1. 2. 17, 1. 8. 1, 11; 2. 3. 17, 2. 5. 35; 3. 1. 26; 4. 2. 18, 4. 4. 5, 4. 5. 10, 33, 35, 4. 8. 4; 5. 4. 2, 5. 5. 5; 6. 6. 34; 7. 2. 19, 7. 3. 25, 7. 6. 9, 39, 42. *Hell.* 1. 1. 23, 1. 4. 3; 3. 3. 2; 4. 4. 10; 7. 1. 37. *Mem.* 3. 14. 7. *Ag.* 5. 5.

more references in the *Anabasis*, almost all of which is reported first-hand, than in the *Hellenica*, which purports to be a continuation of Greek history from where Thucydides left off, and very little of which is reported as eye-witness account.

The only time Xenophon specifies the dialect that a Greek is talking in is at *Anab.* 3. 1. 26; usually he leaves it to his readers to assume that a Spartan will speak in the Laconian dialect, a Boeotian in Boeotian, etc. However, there are good reasons for this unusual detail. His narrative runs as follows:

οἱ δὲ ἀρχηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον πάντες, πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης τις ἦν βοιωτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ . . .

. . . upon hearing what he said the officers exhorted him to take the lead, all except a man named Apollonides, who spoke in the Boeotian dialect . . .

Xenophon's normal style would be to identify the man as a Boeotian, or else to leave his provenance in Greece unmentioned; in this case he cannot do this as the man turns out to be a Lydian impostor (identified as such by a real Boeotian). Xenophon's sense of the dramatic, however, leads him to suppress this fact until the point in events when the Greeks themselves learned it. It is also worth noting that speaking in Boeotian dialect (even if it was not genuine, and recognized as such by a Boeotian) guaranteed the man's credentials as a Greek just as well as if he had spoken in Attic.

2.3.1.3.1. Foreign languages

Foreign languages figure quite prominently in the *Anabasis*, as one might expect from the nature of the work. There is no attempt to reproduce an alien language, of course, since this would serve no purpose and would have in any case to be translated or paraphrased. Xenophon could not be expected to know any of the exotic languages the army encounters in its long march, though it is reasonable to suppose he picked up a few words of Persian.⁶⁴ Xenophon's method of dealing with foreign languages is practical;

⁶⁴ Cf. *Hell.* 1. 4. 3: "καταπέμψω Κύρον κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροισμένων." τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον. ("I am sending Cyrus as *karanon* of those gathered at Castolus." *Karanon* means "lord".) He is the first Greek historian to use the term satrap (*hyparchos* in Hdt. and Thuc., though they do have the word *satrapy*), and is precise in his use of the Greek word *dasmos* for Persian tribute (preferring it to *phoros*; cf. Murray 1966). See also Hirsch (1985: 149 n. 3).

he mentions the presence of interpreters, and then reports the speech (directly) in Attic. Interpreters are not mentioned every time a character who may be supposed to be speaking a foreign language opens his mouth, which would be rather obtrusive; they are mentioned often enough (e.g. once per interaction, or per character) for the reader to be aware of the presence of a foreign character who cannot speak Greek. Once it has been established that an oft-appearing character (e.g. Cyrus) speaks in his native language, mention of interpreters is largely dispensed with.

Thus at *Anab.* 1. 8. 12 it is made clear that Cyrus is constantly accompanied by his interpreter Pigres (first mentioned at 1. 2. 17) when dealing with his Greek troops, and at 2. 5. 35 we learn that the Greeks have their own interpreter; it is not necessary, therefore, for Xenophon to mention the fact of the presence of interpreters in other passages, such as 1. 7. 2-9, where an extended conversation between Cyrus and various Greeks is reported. It is interesting, however, that when a Persian actually speaks in Greek Xenophon sees fit to mention this:

Πατηγγάς, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης . . . προφαίνεται . . . καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνετύγχανεν ἑβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς ὅτι βασιλεὺς . . . προσέρχεται. (Anab. 1. 8. 1)

Pategyas, a Persian . . . appeared, and at once shouted to everyone he met, both in the barbarian tongue and in Greek, that the King was approaching . . .

When the Greeks are on their own they have to deal with the various peoples they encounter on their march through Mesopotamia and along the Black Sea coast. The difficulties of communication are one of the practical difficulties of the march, and are treated as such by Xenophon; misunderstandings about their intentions were liable to occur, since the peoples they met were understandably anxious at the appearance of a large army at the borders of their territory. Occasionally they can communicate using Persian (4. 5. 19, 5. 34); at 4. 8. 4 one of the non-Greek contingent in the army recognizes that the locals are speaking in his native language and offers to interpret:

ἔνθα δὴ προσέρχεται Ξενοφῶντι τῶν πελταστῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθήνησι φάσκων δεδουλευκέναι, λέγων ὅτι γινώσκει τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ οἶμαι, ἔφη, ἐμὴν ταύτην πατρίδα εἶναι.

At this moment one of the peltasts came up to Xenophon, saying that he had been a slave at Athens, and that he knew the language of these people; 'I think', he said, 'that this is my native country.'

In Armenia the soldiers communicate by means of sign-language (4. 5. 33).

It has been argued, perhaps rightly, that the Greeks were in general too lazy or uninterested to learn foreign languages; this perception, however, is the result of concentration on mainland Greece (Athens in particular). One thing that emerges from the *Anabasis* is that when their environment demanded it, Greeks were just as ready as anybody else to learn the languages of their neighbours. When Xenophon travels along the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor he is assisted by the fact that the local Greeks (i.e. those living in Greek 'colonies') can negotiate with non-Greek peoples of the area (4. 8. 24). In 5. 4. 2 it is revealed that the Greeks have *proxenoi*⁶⁵ of neighbouring non-Greek peoples in their cities, just as in Greece the various cities have *proxenoi* of other cities. These are able to act as interpreters when necessary.

2.3.1.3.2. Greek dialects

In the *Anabasis* Xenophon tells the story of the Greek army of Cyrus, which consisted of men from all over the Greek world; the *Hellenica* deals with the internal politics of Greece from 411 to c.360 BC. In both works, therefore, there is plenty of scope for interaction in non-Attic dialect.

Xenophon does not as a rule attempt to portray Greeks speaking in their native dialects. Direct speech is represented in Attic, whether it takes place between an Athenian and a non-Athenian, or between two non-Athenians. We may suppose that the reason for this is convenience, and the difficulty of representing certain non-Attic phonological features in the Ionic alphabet. It is certain that he was familiar with the Laconian dialect since he spent a large part of his life in Laconia.⁶⁶ It is worth remarking here that on the rare occasions he does add dialect colouring to reported speech, it is always Laconian speech that is in question.

Since he is on the whole happy to represent Greeks speaking in

⁶⁵ Citizens who acted as diplomatic agents for foreign cities.

⁶⁶ Bourguet (1927: 151 f.) detects the influence of Laconian on Xenophon's prose.

Attic, and does not feel that this compromises historical veracity, the natural question is why he occasionally departs from this rule. The answer seems to be that he wishes to add a touch of vividness at a dramatic moment.

In four of the five cases the Laconism consists in the strongly affirmative phrase *ναὶ τῷ σιῷ*⁶⁷ (or its negative *οὐ τῷ σιῷ*), which of itself is most liable to occur at important junctures. Cleander uses it (6. 6. 34) when he announces his sudden *volte-face* on the question of whether he will help or hinder the Greek army, a question that was of crucial importance to Xenophon. Charminus uses the negative version (7. 6. 39) in Xenophon's defence, when Xenophon has been attacked by the double-dealing Seuthes and his agents, and portrays himself as fighting for his life in front of the mob. In both of these cases, however, the speakers immediately switch into Attic for the rest of the utterance.⁶⁸ These expletives may be regarded as stereotypical Laconisms,⁶⁹ used by Xenophon as markers of 'Spartans in moments of high passion'; they are employed for the sake of literary effect rather than a sudden intrusion of realism.

At *Hell.* 4. 4. 10 the Spartan commander Pasimachus says *Ναὶ τῷ σιῷ, ὦ Ἀργεῖοι, ψευσεῖ ὑμέ τὰ σίγμα ταῦτα*. ('By the gods, Argives, these sigmas will deceive you'). This case is slightly different, since *ὑμέ* shows that the whole sentence is represented in Laconian.⁷⁰ This suggests that the sentence may in fact be a direct 'quotation' (cf. *λέγεται εἰπὼν*, 'is reported to have said') of a famous utterance that entered the popular mythology of epigram-like sayings of military commanders. The context supports this suggestion: the Spartans have taken up the shields of the defeated Sicyonians, marked with the distinctive sigma, and are about to face the unwary Argives.

The closest Xenophon comes to representing a normal conversation in dialect is at *Hell.* 3. 3. 2, where Agesilaus and Leotychides are quarrelling over the Spartan kingship. A major problem with this passage is the suspicion that the manuscript

⁶⁷ For the phonology and spelling cf. 4.1.1.6, 4.1.16, 4.4.63.1.

⁶⁸ Note, however, the verb *τελέθειν* at 6. 6. 36 (also used by the Laconian Cheirisophos at 3. 2. 3): elsewhere confined to Epic and Doric poetry, and attested in the Heracleian tablets.

⁶⁹ Cf. 1.2.3.1 for the difference between markers and stereotypes.

⁷⁰ Cf. 4.2.2 below for the morphology of the word.

tradition has been corrupted, since there is no metre to act as a check on interference in the text:

εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Λεωτυχίδου· Ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν ἀλλ' υἱὸν βασιλέως βασιλεύειν κελεύει· εἰ δὲ υἱὸς ᾧν μὴ τυγχάνοι, ὁ ἀδελφός κα ὡς βασιλεύοι. Ἐμὲ ἂν δέοι βασιλεύειν. Πῶς, ἐμοῦ γε ὄντος; Ὅτι ὄν τὸ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἔφη σε εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ. Ἀλλ' ἡ πολὺ κάλλιον ἐκείνου εἰδυῖα μήτηρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι φησίν. Ἀλλὰ ὁ Ποτειδάν ὡς μάλα σευ ψευδομένω κατεμήνυσεν ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξελάσας σειμῶ εἰς τὸ φανερόν τὸν σὸν πατέρα. συνεμαρτύρησε δὲ ταυτ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀληθέστατος λεγόμενος χρόνος εἶναι· ἅφ' οὗ γάρ τοι ἔφυσέ (σε) καὶ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ, δεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐγένου.

κα Jacobs: καὶ codd. ὄν τῷ Dindorf: ὄν τοι MDV, οὗ τοι B ἀλλὰ ὁ
Ποτειδάν Valckenaer: ἀλλ(ᾶ) ὁπότε δ' ἂν codd. σευ Valckenaer: σοι
codd. κατεμάνυσεν Valckenaer τῷ θαλάμῳ Paris. E τοι ἔφυσέ
codd.: τυ (= σε) ἔφυσέ Keller, (σε) add. Marchant

Leotychides said, 'But the law, Agesilaus, ordains that the son, not the brother of the king should inherit the kingdom. The brother is to be king only if there is no son.'

'Then I should be king.'

'How so, with me around?'

'The man you call father did not recognize you as his.'

'But my mother, who knows far better than he, maintains to this day that I am his.'

'But Poseidon made it clear how wrong you are when he drove your real father out of her bedroom into the open with an earthquake; and time, said to be the surest witness, corroborated his evidence. For you were born in the tenth month after he fathered you and was exposed in her bedroom.'

The text of the OCT presents the following Laconisms: κα, τῷ, Ποτειδάν, σευ ψευδομένω. Against this, however, the passage contains many more Attic forms, such as ἂν, ἐμοῦ, εἰ, εἶναι. It should be noted that Valckenaer's Ποτειδάν would be a false Laconism (cf. *IG* v/1. 213. 12 Ποχοιδαία), though appropriate for other Doric dialects: see Bourguet (1927: 50f.) and Solmsen (1903: 619f.) for the forms of this name in Laconian and the other dialects. If (as seems likely) Xenophon wrote a form with medial -τ-, he will have been striving for a general Doric colour rather than accurate Laconian (which he was presumably familiar with). But it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the passage since what Xenophon wrote cannot be established with any certainty.

At *Hell.* 1. 1. 23 there is a far less ambiguous snatch of Laconian, not however in the form of reported speech, but a letter to Sparta intercepted by the Athenians. That the message

was written rather than just verbal is made clear by the term *γράμματα*. It runs as follows:

Ἐρρεῖ τὰ κᾶλα. Μίνδαρος ἀπεσσύα. πεινῶντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρᾶν.

The ships have gone. Mindaros is dead. The men are starving. We don't know what to do.

It looks as though Xenophon had an exact report of the message at his disposal, and has included it as a document in the text for the vividness it undoubtedly lends. Apart from the dialect, what would have struck an Athenian reader is the Laconian 'brevity' of the phrasing⁷¹ (this is slightly deceptive, of course, since SOS messages are usually rather brief).

2.3.1.4. Historical prose: remarks

The three writers considered above stick by and large to the same conventions in their treatment of Greek dialect and foreign languages. This can be related to the constraints and requirements of the genre. Attic-Ionic was the dialect of scientific prose. Herodotus wrote in Ionic, though his native dialect may have been Doric; Thucydides wrote in what may be termed international scientific Attic (i.e. certain local features are suppressed, and some lexical items are borrowed from Ionic); Xenophon's Greek is in the same tradition, and has been described as an early version of *koine* Greek.⁷² It was not thought suitable or desirable to vary the dialect of the narrative to represent dialect-speakers, especially since the language of the narrative is not itself 'neutral'; in the case of Herodotus and Thucydides, at any rate, the dialect of the text is not the native epichoric dialect of the author, but a literary language: in this case every speaker (including Athenians) would have been a 'dialect-speaker', and the rendering of direct speech would have been an awkward departure from the literary language of the narrative.

There are of course slight differences between the three, as is natural in a developing genre. Herodotus most probably wrote episodes for public recitation, which were only later joined and edited to form the continuous text of the *Histories* as they have

⁷¹ Cf. Francis (1993), Morpurgo Davies (1993: §4. 1).

⁷² The development of scientific prose language both reflected and contributed to the growth of the *koine*. Cf. López Eire (1993).

come down to us. While the inclusion of occasional foreign glosses is appropriate for the public reading of this type of work, extended quotation in dialect does not seem to have been thought necessary for the purpose of realism or desirable for the purpose of adornment. Thucydides is closer to the modern notion of the writer, in that he composed his text (in exile) without an immediate audience; nevertheless, apart from two exceptional cases where he quotes source documents, dialect does not intrude into his narrative. Xenophon, though ostensibly following in the footsteps of Thucydides, permits the occasional splash of dialect in order to add vividness to his story.

Although it is difficult to fix 'publication dates' for ancient prose works, it is generally assumed that Herodotus' work was known in Athens by the late 420s.⁷³ It will not have provided Aristophanes with a precedent for extended representation of dialect, or the characterization of foreigners with pidgin Greek. In common with Thucydides, however, it confirms the sociolinguistic backdrop against which the comedies were performed. Language, irrespective of dialect, was something which identified Greeks as Greeks and marked them off from foreigners. There is an awareness that while language is not a unifying political factor, it could and perhaps should be. Although the conventions of the genre did not permit the representation of either foreign language or non-literary dialect, we can note (i) that dialect differences are not remarked on, while in the case of foreign language difficulties in communication (including the use of interpreters) are often recorded, and (ii) that there are occasional intrusions of dialect, but none (excluding glosses) of foreign language.

2.3.2. *Tragedy*

2.3.2.1. Aeschylus

To achieve some sort of perspective on the amount and nature of the material that is available for analysis it may be helpful to present a conspectus of the seven extant plays (including the probably spurious *Prometheus*). It can be seen from this that the scope for reference to non-Greek speech is quite limited. That is to say, *Persians* and *Suppliants* alone have sizeable 'foreign'

⁷³ If not widely, at least in literary circles. See Flory (1980).

contingents, and apart from these only the *Agamemnon* has a brief role for a foreign character.

Play	Location	Characters	Chorus
<i>Prometheus</i>	(divine)	(divine)	(divine)
<i>Seven</i>	Thebes	Theban	Theban
<i>Persians</i>	Susa	Persians	Persian
<i>Suppliants</i>	Argos	Argive, Egyptian	Egyptian
<i>Agamemnon</i>	Mycenae	Argive, Trojan	Argive
<i>Choephoroe</i>	Mycenae	Argive	Trojan
<i>Eumenides</i>	Delphi, Athens	Argive	(divine)

2.3.2.1.1. Greek dialect

There are two references in the surviving plays of Aeschylus to the fact that there were different dialects of Greek:

- (i) *Seven* 167–70: ὡ τέλειοι τέλειαι τε γὰς
τᾶσδε πυργοφύλακες,
πόλιν δορίπονον μὴ προδῶθ'
ἑτεροφώνῳ στρατῶ. (Chorus)

Ye guardian gods and goddesses of the land, betray not this war-enduring city to an army of foreign speech.

ἑτεροφώνῳ means little more than 'foreign' (but not 'barbarian') in this context. Cf. the scholiast ad loc.: τῷ μὴ βοιωτάζοντι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἑλλήνες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, οὐκ εἶπεν "βαρβαροφώνῳ" ('Of foreign speech': i.e. they don't speak Boeotian dialect. He did not say 'of barbarian speech', since the Argives are also Greek). Snell⁷⁴ comparing 463 φῖμοι δὲ συρίζουσι βάρβαρον βρόμον ('the muzzles [of the horses] give off a barbarous whistling') argues that the Argive enemy are being characterized as barbarian; whether or not this is so, the Argive dialect *per se* is not thus characterized. He refers in support to 72 f. Ἑλλάδος / φθόγγον χέουσα, but the line beginning φθόγγον χέουσα has since been athetized.

- (ii) *Choephoroe* 563 f.: ἀμφω δὲ φωνὴν ἥσομεν Παρνησσίδα
γλώσσης αὐτὴν Φωκίδος μιμουμένω.

We will both speak the speech of Parnassus, imitating the sound of the Phocian tongue.

⁷⁴ (1928: 78 n. 114). Followed by Werner (1983: 587), 'Der von Argos kommende Angreifer, der Bedroher der Vaterstadt, nimmt für den Aischyleischen Eteokles Züge des Aggressors von 490/480 an.'

Commentators have argued whether this remark was borne out in the stage performance. It is clear that Orestes does not speak in Phocian when he arrives at the palace, any more than he speaks in Peloponnesian Doric during the rest of the play. What is debated is whether the actor assumed a 'tone of voice', unmarked in the text due to its ineffable quality, or for some other reason, reminiscent of the dialect in question. The scholiast on Eur. *Phoen.* 301 is quoted in support: εἰ γὰρ καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς ἐλάλουν, ἀλλ' οὖν γε τὴν πάτριον ἔσφζον ἀπήχισιν τῆς φωνῆς. ('Even if they [the chorus of Phoenician women] were speaking in Greek, at any rate they kept the native accent of their speech.') He goes on to quote two lines from Sophocles' lost play *The Demand for Helen's Return* (cf. 2.3.2.2.1 below). Nevertheless, Garvie's view (1987, ad loc.) that Orestes speaks 'normal tragic Attic' is most plausible. If the conventions of Attic tragedy allowed him to affect 'some peculiarities of pronunciation'⁷⁵ then they would also have allowed Aeschylus to indicate some of them in the text. However, speaking in tragic diction with a West Greek patina would put Orestes in danger of blurring the boundary between his speech and that of the chorus. Since the chorus are in any case supposed to be Trojan, the muddle that would ensue from such a touch of realism would far outweigh any benefits. The only way for Orestes to avoid this would be to use some well-known Phocian colloquialism, of which there is no obvious sign in the text.⁷⁶ It is safest to suppose, with Richardson,⁷⁷ that 'the convention of Attic tragedy was satisfied merely by his stating that he would talk Phocian'.

2.3.2.1.2. Foreign languages

The plays of relevance in this section are *Persians*, *Suppliants*, and *Agamemnon*. There is no representation of foreign language, or of foreign accent either, though Aeschylus uses many verbal and dramatic devices to characterize the non-Greeks in *Persians* and *Suppliants*.

⁷⁵ Stevens (1945: 96).

⁷⁶ Harrison (1936) detected a 'Phocism' in *kleis* (680); but this is an epic word that Aeschylus uses on several other occasions.

⁷⁷ Richardson (1952: 57).

(i) *Persians*

There have been several studies on the type of Greek that Aeschylus puts into the mouths of his Persians.⁷⁸ Without departing from the normal usages of tragic diction he marks their language as exotic and barbarian. There are lists of Persian names (some real, some fabricated) and references to place-names.⁷⁹ There are violent and repeated exclamations of grief; apart from the exotic effect of the sound of these noises, Aeschylus also uses them to play on a prejudice about Asiatic excess in the repetitive nature of the dirges. There is a relatively high number of foreign words in the play, some of which were quite common in Greek, others less so.⁸⁰

On a slightly different level there are also some Ionicisms in the speech of the Persians (e.g. 13 οἷχῳκε, 761 ἐξεκείνωσε, 782 νέος ἐὼν νέα φ¹ροεῖ); Ionic was the dialect with which the Persians were most familiar, and in Greek literature they are often made to refer to the Greeks as 'Ionians'.⁸¹

In discussing the alleged Phocian of Orestes above we saw how the linguistic conventions of Aeschylean drama do not bear too close an emphasis on linguistic realism; there are some similar moments in the *Persians*. At 402 the messenger describes how the Persians heard a stirring exhortation to the Greeks from one of their commanders, which was met by a ῥόθος ('murmuring') on the Persian side; but he omits to explain how the Persians understood it.⁸² Similarly it has often been pointed out that the Persian habit of referring to themselves as 'barbarians' (e.g. 634) is paradoxical if the dramatic purpose of the playwright is ignored and attention concentrated on realistic considerations.⁸³

⁷⁸ See Kranz (1933: 71-112, 292), Bacon (1961: 15 ff.), Hall (1988a: 76 ff. and *passim*).

⁷⁹ Aeschylus may be following the example of Phrynichus' earlier play on the subject of the Persian wars, the *Phoenician Women*. Cf. fr. 9 (TrGF) Σιδώνιον ἄστρῳ λιποῦσαι | καὶ δροσερὰν Ἀραδὸν (leaving the city of Sidon and dewy Arados).

⁸⁰ Stanford (1942: 51) rightly distinguishes two types of gloss: foreign words for foreign things (*tiara*, etc.) and foreign words which had a more commonplace Greek synonym.

⁸¹ This was in fact their practice, in common with many other peoples of the Near East, from the Ancient Israelites ('Javan') to the Turks ('Yunan'). The occasional Ionicisms in *Persians* are discussed by Broadhead (1960: 250 f.), who rightly rejects many of Headlam's suggested instances.

⁸² Contrast Hdt. 8. 22, 9. 98.

⁸³ Paley's explanation of this line ('To Darius Greek words were βάρβαρα') is rightly rejected by Headlam (1902: 57): 'a truly monstrous view. It is only by

(ii) *Suppliants*

The presentation of the Egyptians in this play is similar in some respects to that of the *Persians*, though on a smaller scale. Danaus and his daughters are not characterized as exotically as the Persians, since (1) they are descended from Greeks and base their claim to aid on this relationship, and (2) they are not enemies of Greece, but are portrayed quite sympathetically (this is not true of the herald, 873-951, however).

There are a number of foreign words (e.g. *βάρης*, *βούνης*, *καρβάνα*), and the wild, unrestrained nature of the Egyptians' lament is similar to that of the *Persians* (cf. esp. 876-902). The danger of oriental excess is underlined by two (rather inaccurate) warnings to the Danaids that Greeks do not like long-drawn-out speeches (200, 273), one by Danaus and one by Pelagus. The Danaids themselves emphasize their linguistic difference on two occasions. At 119 they declare that the earth can understand them despite the fact that they are foreigners:

καρβάνα δ' αὐδᾶν εὖ, γᾶ, κονεῖς.

Thou understandest well, O earth, my barbarian voice.

With regard to considerations of realism, it is worth remarking here that despite the content, which is aimed at characterizing them as foreigners, the form includes a Doric gloss appropriate to a chorus in a lyric section.

At 972-4 they voice the concern that the position of refugees is particularly difficult as people are always likely to be hostile to those who speak differently:

*πᾶς τις ἐπειπεῖν
ψόγον ἄλλοθρόοις
εὐτυκος*

(All people are quick to be censorious of those who speak with a foreign accent.)

This is an interesting comment: it reveals a fifth-century attitude towards language, and it is more evidence that language was among the primary criteria which defined foreigners.

convention that they are speaking Greek at all; you are to imagine that they are speaking Persian'. His own suggestion, however, that the chorus began by reciting unintelligible jargon (*βάρβαρα σαφηνή*) which was not included in the text, is also unattractive.

(iii) *Agamemnon*

This play contains the well-known scene (1072–1330) between Clytemnestra (wife of Agamemnon) and Cassandra (a Trojan captive, daughter of Priam), in which Clytemnestra assumes that Cassandra's failure to heed her instructions is due to her inability to understand Greek (1060–1):

εἰ δ' ἀξυνήμων οὔσα μὴ δέχει λόγον,
σὺ δ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς φράζεε καρβάνῳ χερσί.

But if you lack understanding and do not take in my words,
Then instead of speech make indication with barbarian hand.

(Tr. Lloyd-Jones)

Commentators, sensitive to A. E. Housman's parody of this passage,⁸⁴ are quick to defend Clytemnestra against the charge of 'absurdity'. Nevertheless, Aeschylus' emphasis on the foreignness of Cassandra and the fact that Greek is not her native language is striking, especially in view of the Homeric treatment of Greek-Trojan interaction.

At 1050 Clytemnestra asks if she is 'possessed of an unintelligible barbarian tongue, like a swallow'. The comparison between foreign languages and the twittering of birds is not uncommon in Greek literature.⁸⁵ Cassandra's linguistic origins are referred to again at 1254, when she tells the chorus that if they do not understand her dark prophecies, it is not because she does not speak Greek well.

(iv) *Fr 328 TrGF (Memnon?)*

Eust. on Hom. *Od.* 4. 84

λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁμοφώνως τῷ ἀρσενικῷ, κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς· "Αἰθίοπα", γοῦν, φασί, "φωνήν" Αἰσχύλος λέγει . . .

The feminine form of the word is identical with the masculine in ancient usage: Aeschylus has 'Ethiopian language' . . .

A reference to the Ethiopian language, possibly from the play *Memnon*.

⁸⁴ 'But if you happen to be deaf and dumb' | And do not understand a word I say, | Then wave your hand to signify as much.'

⁸⁵ Cf. Hdt. 2. 57, Schol. on Ar. *Birds* 1680, Soph. *Antig.* 1001 f.

In summing up our conclusions about the linguistic characterization of 'foreign' characters in Aeschylus, we should note that in the plays which have come down to us all the foreign characters are in some way linguistically foregrounded; although the sample is small, this 100% rate encourages the supposition that this was normal practice. It seems, therefore, that Aeschylean drama was far from oblivious to linguistic variation; but phonetic or morphological imitation was not appropriate to the genre.

2.3.2.2. Sophocles

In the following conspectus of the plays, 'Greek' indicates that the nature of the myth underlying the tragedy is such that it is impossible to be more specific; e.g. in the case of the Greek army at Troy.

<i>Play</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Characters</i>	<i>Chorus</i>
<i>Ajax</i>	Greek camp at Troy	Greek, 'Phrygian' Tecmessa	Salaminian
<i>Electra</i>	Mycenae	Argive	Argive
<i>Oed. Tyr.</i>	Thebes	Theban	Theban
<i>Antig.</i>	Thebes	Theban	Theban
<i>Trach.</i>	Trachis	Greek	Trachinian
<i>Philoct.</i>	Lemnos	Greek	Greek
<i>Oed. Col.</i>	Athens	Theban, Athenian	Athenian

2.3.2.2.1. Greek dialect

There is no relevant material in the surviving plays; we are forced to look to the fragments and testimonia for clues about Sophocles' practice with regard to the representation of Greek dialect, and there we find only one such clue. The scholion on Eur. *Phoen.* 301 quotes two tantalizing lines from *Ἑλένης Ἀπαίτησις* ('The Demand for Helen's return', Soph. fr. 176 *TrGF*; see on *Choeph.* 563 above for the context):

καὶ γὰρ χαρακτήρ αὐτὸς ἐν γλώσσῃ τί με
παρηγορεῖ Λάκωνος δσμᾶσθαι λόγου.

The very ring [of his words] persuades me to scent a trace of the Laconian speech in his talk (tr. Jebb).

The dramatic situation is likely to be one in which someone in Troy hears the voice of Menelaus or another of the Spartan party come to retrieve Helen (cf. Hom. *Il.* 3. 206, with scholion A ad loc.). Was the 'smell of Laconian' marked in the text, or in the actor's performance? The issue is essentially the same as for Orestes' Phocian accent at Aesch. *Cho.* 563, except that we do not even have the text of the relevant passage. As in the case of the alleged Phocian, however, it seems quite unlikely either that the text was marked with Laconian features, or that the actors adopted Laconizing accents. For in a play dealing with an embassy to Troy headed by Menelaus, speech by Spartan speakers would not be restricted to a couple of lines, as in the case of Orestes' Phocian accent, but would be sustained throughout the play. This would pose complications from a realist point of view; for example, with Menelaus speaking consistently in Laconian, his brother Agamemnon, if he appeared, would also have to speak some form of Doric.

2.3.2.2.2. Foreign languages

It can be seen at once that of the seven surviving plays not one has a non-Greek setting (the Greek camp in the Troad can be taken as a Greek setting); the only non-Greek character is Tecmessa. This is unfortunate, for we know from the names of lost plays, and from fragments, that there were also many plays set in the Troad. According to Bacon's figures, of 20 foreign words in Sophocles, 19 appear in the fragments, and for the most part come from plays with a foreign setting or foreign characters.⁸⁶ Compare, for example, Hesychius s.v. *Ἰαννα* (Soph. fr. 56, 617, 519 *TrGF*):

ἐν μὲν Αἰχμαλωτίσι Σοφοκλέους ἀπέδοσαν Ἑλληνική, ἐπεὶ Ἰαννας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας λέγουσιν. ἐν δὲ Τριπτολέμῳ ἐπὶ γυναικός, ὡς καὶ ἐν Ποιμέσι. τινὲς δὲ τὴν Ἑλένην. ἐπιεικῶς δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας Ἰωνας λέγουσιν . . .

In Sophocles' *Prisoners of War* it is used as an adjective equivalent to 'Greek', since they call Greeks 'Iaunians'. In the *Triptolemos* he uses it to describe a woman, as also in the *Shepherds*. Sometimes used of Helen. The barbarians naturally call Greeks 'Ionians' . . .

The form *Ἰαννας* found in the MSS should most probably be read as *Ἰάνας* < *Ἰάονας*. As Pearson (*Fragments* s.v.) notes, 'The

⁸⁶ Bacon (1961: 65).

prevalence of the archaic form indicates an attempt to represent the Persian pronunciation'. Similarly, in the *Shepherds* (mentioned by Hesychius above) the chorus seems to have been composed of Phrygian shepherds, and are given (fr. 515 *TrGF*) the Asiatic exclamation ἰὼ βαλλήν (Hesychius has βαλλήν· βασιλεύς, Φρυγιστί). The other fragments of this play contain a high proportion of 'exotic' foreign vocabulary.

There is some evidence that Helen's perfidious Trojan hosts were in some plays given a touch of Phrygian or at any rate 'Asian' colouring; for in the list of foreign words which we know Sophocles to have used, one of them, ὀροσάγγαι, appears in two of the 'Troad' plays, described by lexicographers as follows: ὀροσάγγαι μὲν οἱ σωματοφύλακες, ὡς Σοφοκλῆς Ἑλένης γάμῳ καὶ Τρωίλῳ. ('"Orosangai" are body-guards, as in Sophocles' *Wedding of Helen* and *Troilus*.) The only explicit reference to foreigners speaking Greek occurs at *Ajax* 1262-3, where Agamemnon tries to insult Teucer by implying that, since his mother was a foreigner (a Trojan), Teucer's Greek is unintelligible:

σοῦ γὰρ λέγοντος οὐκέτ' ἂν μάθοιμι' ἐγώ·
τὴν βάρβαρον γὰρ γλώσσαν οὐκ ἐπαίω.

When you speak you are not intelligible to me; for I do not understand your barbarian tongue.

Teucer's reply is interesting; since Agamemnon has broken the 'heroic illusion' by turning the Trojans into barbarians, he for his part is free to point out that by the strict standards of late fifth-century Greece,⁸⁷ most of the great dynasties of the heroic period were racially mixed.

The linguistic nature of the divide between Greeks and barbarians peeps through at *Trachin.* 1060, where Heracles says that οὔθ' Ἑλλάς, οὔτ' ἄγλωσσος ('neither Greece nor [a land] without language') has ever done what Deianeira has done.

It seems, then, that Sophocles' characterization of foreigners, whether Greek or 'barbarian', was similar to that of Aeschylus in being literary rather than linguistic in the strict sense of the word. Rasch comes to the opposite conclusion,⁸⁸ perhaps because he does not distinguish between linguistic and literary characterization. Bacon, following Rasch, argues:

⁸⁷ e.g. for citizen status.

⁸⁸ 1913: 114-15 ('Sophoclem vero tales exterarum gentium ipsa fabula oblatum proprietates, ut scaenam ad verum statum exornaret, haud aspernatum esse elucet e schol. Eurip. Phoen. 301').

If he used Laconian dialect it is not unlikely that he also used foreign pronunciation as a dramatic device. The evidence of the fragments indicates that this was in fact the case.⁸⁹

The evidence that she quotes is the word *Iavva* (for which see above). But forms like this, as we saw in the case of Aeschylus' *Suppliants* and *Persians*, do not imply use of 'foreign pronunciation' to characterize speakers of non-Attic dialects.

2.3.2.3. Euripides

The following conspectus of the plays includes the dubiously authentic *Rhesus* and the satyr-play *Cyclops*. Almost all plays contain divine characters.

<i>Play</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Characters</i>	<i>Chorus</i>
<i>Rhesus</i>	Troad	Trojan/Thracian, Greek	Trojan
<i>Medea</i>	Corinth	Greek, Colchian	Corinthian
<i>Hippolytus</i>	Troezen	Greek	Troezenian
<i>Alcestitis</i>	Thessaly	Greek	Thessalian
<i>Heraclidae</i>	Marathon	Athenian, non-Athenian	Athenian
<i>Suppliants</i>	Athens	Theban, Argive, Athenian	Argive
<i>Trojan Women</i>	Troad	Trojan, Greek	Trojan
<i>Ion</i>	Delphi	Greek	Athenian
<i>Helen</i>	Egypt	Egyptian, Greek	Greek
<i>Andromache</i>	Phthia	Trojan, Greek	Thessalian
<i>Electra</i>	Mycenae	Argive, Phocian	Argive
<i>Hercules</i>	Thebes	Greek	Theban
<i>Bacchae</i>	Thebes	Theban	Bacchants
<i>Hecuba</i>	Troad	Trojan/Thracian, Greek	Trojan
<i>Phoenissae</i>	Thebes	Theban	Phoenician
<i>Orestes</i>	Mycenae	Argive, Phocian	Argive
<i>Iph. Taur.</i>	Thrace	Thracian, Greek	Greek
<i>Iph. Aul.</i>	Greece	Greek	Euboean
<i>Cyclops</i>	Mt. Etna	Odysseus, Cyclops/satyrs	Satyrs

⁸⁹ Bacon (1961: 65).

It can be seen from this that a relatively small number of plays are purely 'Greek' in the composition of cast and chorus. We are thus in a better position to judge the importance of the motif of 'the foreign' in Euripides, and the effect that this may have had on his manipulation of language.

2.3.2.3.1. Greek dialect

There are no allusions to dialect differences in Greek, or any attempt to characterize speech with epichoric dialect markers. The relatively large sample of Euripidean drama that we have points to the conclusion that this was true of all his plays. One might add, in parentheses, that there are dialect forms in the text (outside the usual epic/Doric mixture) which have other functions; for example, at *Medea* 422 one finds, in a stanza dealing with the wickedness of women, the Ionic-looking form ἀπιστοσύναν, suggested, as Verrall points out,⁹⁰ 'by the dialect of the poems to which Euripides refers—Archilochus, Hipponax, Semonides'. The word also has Doric colouring in the accusative ending, since it occurs in a lyric chorus, which underlines perhaps the extent to which this conventional gloss was disregarded when it clashed with other considerations.

2.3.2.3.2. Foreign languages

It has already been noted that a scholion on *Phoenissae* 301 suggested that the eponymous chorus of Phoenician women spoke with a foreign accent, although there is no sign of this in the text, in which Jocasta comes out Φοίνισσαν βοὴν κλύουσα ('hearing the Phoenician cry'). The reference to foreign speech (and there are others in the play) rather than the presence of linguistic oddities is in accord with the norms of the genre. It has been suggested that the Phrygian slave in the *Orestes* speaks in pidgin Greek like a comic barbarian.⁹¹ The linguistic forms in the text, however, do not bear this out. While it is true that Euripides blurs the boundary between tragedy and comedy in his characterization (and the Phrygian is a good example of this), his barbarians do not break the bounds of tragic diction.

Other references to foreign speech are of a similar nature and include the following:

⁹⁰ Commentary ad loc.

⁹¹ e.g. Craik's note on *Phoen.* 301.

(i) *Bacch.* 158-9 (Cho.)

εὖια τὸν εὖιον ἀγαλλόμεναι θεὸν
ἐν Φρυγίαισι βοαῖς ἐνοπιαῖσί τε.

... celebrating the Bacchic god with Phrygian shouts and screams.

(ii) *Orest.* 1395-7 (Phrygian slave)

αἰλινον αἰλινον ἀρχὰν θανάτου βάρβαροι λέγουσιν, αἰαῖ,
Ἀσιάδι φωνᾷ . . .

Ailinson! ailinson! sing the barbarians, alas, with Asiatic voices, a prelude to death . . .

(iii) *Phoen.* 1302-3 (Cho.)

βοᾷ βαρβάρῳ στενακτὰν ἰαχὰν
... θρηνήσω.

with barbarian shriek I shall wail a groaning dirge . . .

(iv) *Rhesus* 294-7 (Trojan shepherd)

πρὶν δὴ δι' ὤτων γῆρυν οὐχ Ἑλληνικὴν
ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ μετέστημεν φόβου . . .
ἀνιστόρησα Θρηκίοις προσφθέγμασιν . . .

[we retreated panic-struck] until the sound fell upon our ears of no Greek tongue, and we ceased to fear . . . I questioned them in Thracian speech . . .

In the Euripidean passages (i)-(iii) above the noise being made by the speaker is described by the speaker as 'barbarian', 'Phrygian', or 'Asiatic'. This type of self-reference (i.e. where the speaker describes in a superficially otiose way what he/she is doing) was clearly part of the convention of the lyric section of tragedy, and parallels can be found from other contexts. A conventional and stylized reference to 'barbarian cries' in a lyric section is a less striking allusion to foreign language than the exchange between Cassandra and Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon*, or the use of dialect to identify a foreigner in the fragment from Sophocles' *Demand for Helen's Return*. The extracts quoted (all from lyric) come mostly from contexts of mourning (e.g. the Phrygian in *Orestes*) or wild exultation (*Bacchae*), both fertile areas for the depiction of non-Greek excess. The Euripidean references are probably to be classed primarily with other (self-)references to barbarian clothes, parts of the body, etc. They are not, in themselves, of great sociolinguistic relevance. Many such

instances are really references to foreign types of song rather than foreign language *per se*.

The *Rhesus* passage is closer to Aeschylus and Sophocles in the admission that speech can be used to identify strangers. The shepherd's statement that he had to switch language to talk to the Thracians is interesting; later on Hector and Rhesus talk without reference to language difficulty, although Rhesus' Thracian charioteer does at one point (833) refer to the chorus (who are Trojan) as 'barbarians'. One might speculate that the reason for the difference in ease in communication between the upper and lower classes is that characters who are unambiguously heroic trace their lineage back to Epic and are above noticing vulgar details such as language difference; whereas the lower characters are more liable to be identified with inhabitants of contemporary Thrace and Phrygia.

2.3.2.4. Greek tragedy: summary

It is paradoxical that the most interesting extant references both to foreign language, at *Ag.* 1050 ff., and to Greek dialect, at *Cho.* 563 f., should occur in Aeschylus, who has conventionally been thought of as the least realistic of the tragedians. In the case of dialect difference, reference to linguistic variation in the heroic and pre-historical world of tragedy is an interesting intrusion of contemporary Greece. Rotolo⁹² remarks that the paradoxical intrusion is 'a sign that the world of myth, separated from the reality of everyday needs (one of which was communication) and anyhow based on a supposed linguistic homogeneity, was penetrated by the living experience of history with its concrete events of conflicts, alliances, and treaties, which presuppose encounter and linguistic exchange between diverse peoples'.⁹³

There is, therefore, some linguistic 'realism' in Aeschylus: the genre drew the line between reference to dialect (permissible) and representation of dialect (not permissible).⁹⁴ The same is true of Sophocles and Euripides (in contrast with Homer, for example,

⁹² Rotolo (1972: 399).

⁹³ For the usefulness of the notion of anachronism in this context see Easterling (1985)#; especially her discussion of references to writing in tragedy (pp. 2-6).

⁹⁴ Cf. Easterling (1985: 5) on books: 'This, no doubt, is where dramatists drew the line: writing itself was acceptable, and so were writing tablets, but books would be too intrusive, too sharply reminiscent of the modern world.'

where neither is found). This conclusion is not surprising if one relates it to other areas of tragedy where the question of the degree of realism is relevant. Even where the conventions of the genre require that the representation on the stage be heavily stylized, there must be *some* point of contact with the audience's experience. Richardson in a discussion of Aeschylus' technique in the *Persians* sums this up as follows:

There are in fact two kinds of realism, the minute portraiture of life as it actually is, and a subjective or inverted realism which gives a detailed picture of other people's conduct in terms of one's own experience or accommodated to the preconceptions of the reader or audience.⁹⁵

The situation with regard to foreign languages is much the same as in Homer: reference to the fact of their existence may be made when this suits the dramatic purpose of the playwright at a particular point. Reference to the possibility of mutual unintelligibility, without the actual occurrence of this, has a precedent in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (and perhaps *Iliad* 2. 804 ff.). Unlike earlier literature, however, Attic tragedy is prone to present the inhabitants of the non-Greek East with signs of 'barbarization', and the playwrights are able to suggest this by the skilful manipulation of a range of linguistic side-effects.

2.4. REMARKS

The foregoing analysis has been an attempt to estimate the literary models and constraints that could have influenced the representation of foreigners in Old Comedy.

Tragedy is on the whole set in the Homeric mould with regard to the acknowledgement of ethnic and linguistic diversity; but fifth-century attitudes do occasionally peep through. This is to be expected in a genre which relies so heavily on a Greek-barbarian antithesis; in a culture where language is a defining criterion of ethnic difference there can hardly be a genre of literature which assists in the construction of ethnic difference and yet avoids altogether reference to linguistic identity—even where the literary tradition in which that genre places itself does not tolerate the representation of linguistic diversity. Comedy, on the other hand,

⁹⁵ Richardson (1952: 59).

stands outside this tradition, but relies on the themes thrown up by tragedy for parodic material; in literary terms, therefore, the Persian of *Acharnians* and the characters of Aeschylus' *Persians* are two sides of the same coin. The political situation of the fifth century also shows through occasionally with regard to inter-Greek language difference; disguising one's voice as a tactical device (Aesch. *Choeph.* 563) is familiar from inter-Greek disputes in the historians. But tragic characters, even when identifiably Greek and associated with a particular region, are not localized in the fifth-century world. In general one may say that the reverse is true in comedy. Even the gods are localized in comedy; not only are Greek gods distinguished from barbarian gods (as in the *Birds*); Aristophanic gods are even identified as Athenian. At *Peace* 108 Trygaeus says that he will indict Zeus for betraying Greece to the Medes; at *Birds* 1651 f. Peisetaerus tells Heracles that he is *νόθος* (illegitimate) because his mother was 'foreign', and according to Solonic law his chances of inheritance are therefore limited. This principle can be applied to linguistic differentiation: in tragedy, as in Homer, gods, heroes, and characters are not localized and are not differentiated linguistically; in comedy the parodic technique depends for much of its humour on the localization and trivialization of the themes of high literature—foreign gods, therefore, speak fractured Greek, and Greek gods speak Attic.

In historical prose, a literary genre which was the product of the Ionic enlightenment, there is no theoretical objection to the admission of linguistic diversity, any more than to the admission of ethnic diversity. The problems are practical rather than philosophical; we noted in Chapter 1 above that a major inhibiting factor in the representation of dialect is the effort required by the reader to follow it. In this respect drama has a clear advantage over prose. The audience hears the dialect; it is only the actors who have to invest effort into interpreting the text, and they may well be assisted by the author. The prose-writers refer to the existence of the different dialects of Greek when necessary, but do not on the whole bother to represent dialect in the text; by convention dialogue is written in Ionic (Herodotus) or a variety of international Attic-Ionic (Thucydides and Xenophon).

We have not found models for extended representation of dialect of the type that we find in Aristophanes. That is to say,

we have evidence of no other genre where it was obligatory to mark consistently the dialect of non-Attic speakers. If he had models they will have been earlier authors of Old Comedy. It seems clear, however, that there was at any rate a tradition of representing snatches of foreign dialect in Attic literature; hence the occasional dialect phrase in the historians.

A fifth-century playwright will have been familiar with literature written in other dialects; Homer, Archaic poetry, Doric lyric (e.g. Alcman), and others. These may have provided ideas about the orthographic devices by which foreign dialects could be represented.

The Text of Aristophanes

3.0. OVERVIEW

The purpose of this section is to give a brief outline of the history of the text of Aristophanes, and to examine possible sources of interference (§§1-3).¹ Some of the issues which this exercise raises have a general relevance to the issue of dialect in Greek literature.

We must be reasonably certain about the level of interference that a text may have suffered before we try to draw conclusions about dialect forms: various scholars have tried to demonstrate that dialect features in ancient authors may be the result of editorial activity of later scholars.² In addition, since there is no fully worked-out *communis opinio* on the alphabet used by authors in the second half of the fifth century, and since this has a bearing on the issue of dialect in literature, it may be useful to review the evidence currently available.

3.0.1. *The Nature of the Evidence*

The state of the text is, unfortunately, a complicating factor in any study of linguistic forms used by the ancient authors. The problems are time-consuming and often inconclusive, but cannot be ignored, since there is not much use in a theory resting on data which can be shown to be untrustworthy. It is impossible, therefore, to undertake a comparative study of Aristophanes' use of non-Attic dialect until one has a fairly clear idea of just how much or how little can safely be attributed to him. If we are interested in finding out what the popular attitude towards non-Attic dialects

¹ The quality and relationships of the various manuscripts are briefly discussed in an appendix to the chapter.

² e.g. Risch (1954) and Cassio (1988).

of Greek was in fifth-century Athens, it is important to be sure that the forms we find in the text are not the result of editorial activity in second-century Alexandria, or later Byzantine interference.

Extreme scepticism could argue that we cannot be certain any dialect forms existed in the original text; but in fact metrical analysis can confirm a small number.³ The real questions arise concerning forms which are not guaranteed by the metre, especially since these include whole classes of features; the metre tends to be useful in confirming morphological and lexical traits, but there are many types of phonological feature which cannot be confirmed (because, for example, vocalic differences between the dialects are generally qualitative rather than quantitative).

3.0.2. *Textual Interference*

There are two types of interference that the text may have suffered:

(i) *Substitution of dialect features*. Attic forms in the mouths of non-Athenian characters may have been 'corrected' to what the copyist imagined to be the appropriate dialect form. There are two forms this could have taken. (a) Wholesale importation of dialect: we can assume that this type of activity would have been restricted to editors preparing a recension. (b) Isolated cases where a scribe has substituted a 'dialect' form for an Attic form;⁴ this is quite common in texts which feature dialect (though less common than Atticization). In this chapter we are mainly interested in the possibility of (a), wholesale importation.

(ii) *Substitution of Attic features*. Scribes copying the manuscripts will have been puzzled by unfamiliar dialect forms, and may in some cases have substituted the corresponding Attic forms.

If these two sources of corruption are added to the normal quota of mistakes that entered all classical texts over the course of two thousand years of copying by hand, it will be appreciated why we

³ Forms which are confirmed by the metre are identified in the textual analysis (Ch. 4).

⁴ These scribal alterations often introduce incorrect forms. See 3.2.0 below, with notes.

are obliged to treat the text as we have it with a certain amount of caution.

3.0.3. *Possible Stages of Wholesale Interference*

If we survey the history of the text we can pinpoint three stages at which the text may have been deliberately altered wholesale rather than simply copied. These are:

(i) The period between the fifth century and the Alexandrian period. It is possible that if Aristophanes wrote in the native Attic alphabet, the text was transcribed from the Attic to the Ionic alphabet some time after 400.

(ii) The period of Hellenistic scholarship. There is clear evidence that an edition of the text was produced in Alexandria. We must ask what the editing involved and whether there were other editions.

(iii) The extant plays were collected and re-copied during or after the Byzantine renaissance of the ninth century AD. It has been argued that medieval manuscripts derive from an archetype of this period.

We shall now consider these three possibilities in detail in sections 3.1-3.

3.1. THE ALPHABET USED BY ARISTOPHANES

We need to consider the alphabet used by Aristophanes, and the hypothesis of a transcription of the text from the old Attic alphabet to the Ionic alphabet some time after 400.⁵

It has generally been thought that Old Comedy, unlike Tragedy and New Comedy, was not restaged in the period between the original performance and the editorial work on the text in Alexandria, and that the absence of repeat performances may have helped safeguard the purity of the text, since there was no risk of actors' interpolations or adaptations.⁶ There is now evi-

⁵ Henderson, for example, proceeds from this hypothesis in the introduction to his edition of *Lysistrata* (1987: lxi).

⁶ See Dover (1977).

dence that Attic comedies were produced in the South Italian Greek colonies down to the middle of the fourth century.⁷ This does not have a significant bearing on the history of the text, however, since manuscripts taken to South Italy (and adapted perhaps for local performances) would be unlikely to re-enter the mainstream manuscript tradition.

It is clear that in Athens the texts were published and remained in circulation for a reading public. For example, the edition of the *Clouds* which has come down to us is not the original play produced under that name, but is a revised version which was published but never put on stage. It is generally thought that much of the corruption in the text goes back to this period, perhaps due to the (uncontrolled) circulation of reading copies after the festival performance.

3.1.1. *The Attic Alphabet*

It is well known that the original Attic alphabet differed considerably from the one which eventually prevailed in Greece.⁸ The shape of many of the letters was different, and the number and value of the letters also differed. From our point of view the most significant features that Ionic had but Attic lacked were: (i) ⟨H⟩ to denote the long open *e* (= [ɛ:]) that was inherited from proto-Greek;⁹ (ii) ⟨Ω⟩ to represent the long open *o* (= [ɔ:]), also inherited from proto-Greek. The Attic alphabet used ⟨E⟩ and ⟨O⟩ for all *e* and *o* vowels, irrespective of length or quality.

A related issue is the use of the digraphs ⟨EI⟩ and ⟨OY⟩. These, of course, were originally devised to represent diphthongs. However, in Attic-Ionic there had arisen two new long vowels (from contraction, compensatory lengthening, etc.): a new long *e* (close) and a new long *o* (also close). These sounds were distinct from the already existing long open vowels. The diphthongs gradually lost their diphthongal quality and merged with the new long vowels: as a result of this merger both the old diphthongs and the new long vowels began to be denoted in inscriptions by ⟨EI⟩ and (later) ⟨OY⟩. There is no necessary connection between the use of ⟨EI⟩ for

⁷ See Taplin (1993), especially 3, 89–99.

⁸ See Jeffery (1990: 66 f.) for the letters and their shapes in Attica; contrast (325 f.) for the alphabet of the Ionic Dodekapolis. Cf. also Threatch (1980: 19 f.).

⁹ ⟨H⟩ in the Attic Alphabet, as in the Roman, was used to write the aspirate.

close [e:] and the use of the Ionic alphabet; the mixture of ⟨*E*⟩ and ⟨*EI*⟩ continues after the official adoption of the Ionic alphabet in 402/3; ⟨*EI*⟩ was finally established during the period c.403–350.¹⁰ It may be, however, that the increased awareness of the possibilities of accurate representation of vowels engendered by the spread of the Ionic alphabet in Attica led to more systematic use of these digraphs.

We are told that the official adoption of the Ionic alphabet in Attica took place in 403/2 in the archonship of Eucleides,¹¹ after which public monuments were written in the Ionic alphabet.

The analysis of dialect forms in the text of Aristophanes will be influenced by our conclusions as to whether Aristophanes used the Attic or the Ionic alphabet in his autograph; much of the dialect colouring does in fact depend on the vocalism. For example, the old Attic alphabetic would have written -*ev* for an infinitive ending which would later appear in Laconian as -*ην* and in Attic as -*ειν*; it would therefore have been unable to distinguish between the Laconian and the Attic forms of the infinitive.

If it is assumed that Aristophanes wrote in the Attic script it follows that a number of dialect features in the text do not go back to his autograph, or at least not directly. This would entail two possibilities:

(i) Aristophanes did not write or intend many of the words which are coloured with dialect vocalism. In this case the forms were added later, either during copying of the script for the reading public after 403/2, or in Alexandria.

(ii) Aristophanes did not write, but did intend, words coloured with dialect vocalism. In this case the 'correct' forms were added when the resources of the Ionic alphabet were available (and of course Aristophanes himself continued to write well into the fourth century).

The hypothesis that Aristophanes wrote the original draft of the plays in the Old Attic alphabet could be used to explain inconsistencies in the representation of dialect in the manuscripts: confu-

¹⁰ Threatte (1980: 173 f., 238 f.); Buck §25. These writings are often referred to as the 'spurious diphthongs', when they represent the outcome of lengthened vowels rather than the inherited diphthongs. See Allen (1987: 72) for criticism of this term.

¹¹ Theopompus (*FGrH* 11. F 155), Σ on Dion. Thrax (ed. A. Hilgard, p. 183). Cf. Woodhead (1959: 18), Threatte (1980: 26 f.).

sion is likely to have occurred in a situation where some (but not all) instances of ϵ and o were replaced by η and ω in the different dialects represented in the text.

Evidence for the Attic alphabet theory or the Ionic alphabet theory must of course come either from data which are external to the text or from the text itself. I shall argue that it is more likely that he used the Ionic alphabet.¹² However, since the evidence is not conclusive, and since the official change does not take place until the end of the fifth century, we shall consider the implications of both possibilities.

3.1.2. *The Ionic Alphabet*

The extent to which the Ionic alphabet was used by Attic authors during the fifth century is a vexed question. It has sometimes been assumed that the Attic alphabet was used for literary purposes until the official switch in 403/2, when a wholesale transcription of texts (*μεταχαρακτηρισμός*) from the old alphabet to the new took place. It is true that there is no direct evidence which contradicts this view. However, there are a few clues which suggest that the transition may have been more gradual than this, that it was spearheaded by writers following the example of Ionian intellectuals, and that the decree of 403/2 was little more than an official ratification for the purposes of public inscriptions and schools. Wilamowitz thought that all literary texts were written in Ionic script.¹³

In the absence of a literary fragment from the fifth century there are two types of evidence to be considered:

(i) The use of Ionic alphabet in stone inscriptions (public and private), vase-inscriptions, and ostraka.

(ii) Clues from the literature of the period, and the remarks of later writers.

¹² Cf. Boudreaux (1919: 7) '... bien que les pièces d'Aristophane soient en partie antérieures à la réforme de Clisthène [*sic*], il semble, d'après les travaux les plus récents, que l'on avait affaire non à l'alphabet attique mais à l'alphabet ionien'. This position is supported by Teodorsson (1974: 270).

¹³ Wilamowitz (1884), forcefully expressed, see part 2, esp. §3.

3.1.3. *Epigraphic Evidence*

There are modern collections and analyses of the data in Threatte (1980; see esp. pp. 26–34), Immerwahr (1990), and Lang (1976), (1990).

3.1.3.1. Private stone inscriptions

Although direct conclusions about the script used for literary works cannot be drawn from examining stone inscriptions, they provide at least good circumstantial evidence. There is a significant difference between what we find in public and private inscriptions; this is relevant in view of the fact that the decree of 403/2 was concerned with public affairs. Public (official) inscriptions are written almost exclusively in Attic script until the time of the decree, after which they are written exclusively in Ionic script.¹⁴ Immerwahr argues that by 450 a stoichedon Attic chancellery style had been established, which he describes as a 'purist Attic alphabet that tended to resist the influx of Ionic letters'. He concludes that as a result 'writing on stone is highly artificial, in the sense of being far removed from manuscript writing'.¹⁵

In private inscriptions, on the other hand, the Ionic alphabet was used increasingly throughout the fifth century; Threatte puts the main period of transition at c.480–430, and concludes that 'Ionic script was employed by most persons for private purposes by the last quarter of the century'.¹⁶ The evidence of ostraka supports the trend seen in private inscriptions.

3.1.3.2. Vases

It might be argued that vase-inscriptions have not quite the same weight as evidence, since vases were a commodity for foreign export, and were often made by foreign craftsmen.¹⁷ But they

¹⁴ There is an important exception to this, however; inscriptions dealing with foreign states or individuals are quite often written in Ionic script in the second half of the fifth century. The earliest example (*IG* i³. 10) is datable to the period 469–450.

¹⁵ Immerwahr (1990: 121).

¹⁶ Threatte (1980: 33 f.).

¹⁷ Cf. Immerwahr (1990: 175 with n. 10).

nevertheless reflect private use of the alphabet in fifth-century Attica. In the second quarter of the fifth-century the use of the Ionic script on vases is common (often mixed with Attic letters), and after 420 the Ionic alphabet is standard.¹⁸

3.1.3.3. Ostraka

Lang classifies fifth-century ostraka as follows:

For the purpose of dating letter shapes both the Agora ostraka and the known ostracisms are conveniently divided into three groups: 1) early, belonging to the 480's; 2) middle, including the known ostrakophoriai of 461 and 443 B.C.; and 3) late, including the final ostrakophoria of 417 B.C.¹⁹

In the second half of the fifth century the script used on the ostraka shows the following development:

(i) Middle period (443): the alphabet is divided between Attic and Ionic.

(ii) Late period (417): the Ionic alphabet is the norm.

This can be illustrated with Lang's data on the use of ⟨H⟩:²⁰

(i) In the early period ⟨H⟩ = long *e* just once; it is regularly used for the aspirate.

(ii) In the middle period ⟨H⟩ = long *e* in four cases out of six.

(iii) In the late period ⟨H⟩ = long *e* in seven cases out of seven.

3.1.3.4. Other ancient sources

(i) Sherds: Ionic letters are the norm in the second half of the fifth century.

(ii) Dedications and convivial inscriptions: the Ionic alphabet is used after the middle of the fifth century, except for two instances of ⟨O⟩ for ⟨Ω⟩ and one of ⟨E⟩ for ⟨H⟩.

(iii) Lead tablets: difficult to date securely; but the evidence that there is fits with the above.

(iv) Graffiti: Lang reports that in the middle of the century 'the

¹⁸ Kretschmer (1894: 103 f.), Threutte (1980: 38 ff.), Lang (1976: 24), Immerwahr (1990: 115). See Immerwahr (1964) for the depiction of book rolls on Attic vases (in general the painters used the same script as they used elsewhere on the vase).

¹⁹ Lang (1990: 10), cf. Immerwahr (1990: 119).

²⁰ Lang (1990: 13).

balance shifts so that the rule is a more or less standard Ionic alphabet with a gradually diminishing number of exceptions'.²¹

3.1.4. *Literary Evidence*

Perhaps the most important piece of literary evidence is a fragment of Euripides' *Theseus* (fr. 382 Nauck), which was produced before 422. An illiterate shepherd describes the shape of the letters which make up the name ΘΗΣΕΥΣ:

ἐγὼ πέφυκα γραμμάτων μὲν οὐκ ἴδρις,
μορφὰς δὲ λέξω καὶ σαφὴ τεκμήρια.
κύκλος τις ὡς τόρνοιον ἐκμετρούμενος.
οὗτος δ' ἔχει σημεῖον ἐν μέσῳ σαφές.
τὸ δεύτερον δέ, πρῶτα μὲν γραμμαὶ δύο,
ταύτας διέργει δ' ἐν μέσαις ἄλλη μία.
τρίτον δὲ βόστρυχός τις ὡς εἰλιγμένος.
τὸ δ' αὖ τέταρτον ἢ μὲν εἰς ὀρθὸν μία,
λοξαὶ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς τρεῖς κατεστηριγμέναι
εἰσίν. τὸ πέμπτον δ' οὐκ ἐν εὐμαρεὶ φράσαι·
γραμμαὶ γάρ εἰσιν ἐκ διεστώτων δύο,
αὐταὶ δὲ συντρέχουσιν εἰς μίαν βάσιν.
τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ προσεμφερές.

I am one who is ignorant of letters, but I shall describe clearly the shapes of the signs. There is a circle, as though measured out with a compass. This has a clear mark in the middle. In second place there are two lines, which are joined by another in the middle. The third resembles a twisted lock of hair. The fourth is one vertical line to which three bars are fixed. The fifth is not easy to describe; there are two lines diverging from each other, but they come together in a single stem. The final one is similar to the third.

There is no doubt that it is the Ionic ⟨H⟩ that is being described as the second letter.

Herzog's (1912) suggestion that this is propaganda on the part of Euripides is attractive, though it does not, I think, support his thesis that Attic was the normal script for literary texts throughout the fifth century. But the suggestion that Athenian writers and intellectuals supported a change in the official alphabet is plausible. It is likely²² that the text of Homer was always in the Ionic

²¹ Lang (1976: 24), and see also Immerwahr (1990: 106). For sherds, see Lang (1976: 17); dedications, Lang (1976: 53); lead tablets, Immerwahr (1990: 125 f.).

²² Goold (1960), Janko (1992: 34 ff.).

script, and Pfeiffer argues that since the written tradition started in Ionia, it would have been natural for the Ionic alphabet to spread to the rest of Greece for literary purposes.²³ It would have been carried by the diaspora of Ionian thinkers and intellectuals at the end of the sixth century (what Herzog calls 'geistiger Sauer-teig'), and reinforced by the travelling Sophists of the fifth century, most of whom came from Ionia.²⁴ For this view compare the scholion on Dionysius Thrax (from the passage which is also our source for the date of the official change in Attica, p. 183, 20 ff. Hilgard).

Διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἄλλοις χαρακτῆρσι χρώμεθα τῶν στοιχείων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἰωνικοῖς, . . . διὰ τὸ κάλλος, καὶ ὅτι πλείστα τῶν συγγραμμάτων τούτοις ἐγγράπτο τοῖς χαρακτῆρσιν, . . . ὅτι πλείστοι συγγραφεῖς καὶ ποιηταὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας τούτοις τοῖς τύποις ἐχρήσαντο

It is for the following reasons that we use Ionic letters rather than others; [according to some authorities] because of their beauty, and also because most prose works were written in Ionic script; [according to other authorities] it is because most of the prose authors and poets from Ionia used these letters.

The fragment of Euripides' *Theseus* is quoted in Athenaeus (10. 454) as part of a general discussion of representation of the alphabet on stage. There are other fragments which indicate literary use of the Ionic alphabet. A similar passage from a play by the tragic poet Agathon is quoted in the same passage of Athenaeus:

γραφῆς ὁ πρῶτος ἦν μεσόμφαλος κύκλος,
ὀρθοὶ τε κανόνες ἐζυγωμένοι δύο, etc.

The first mark was a circle with a navel in the middle, then two straight lines yoked together . . .

Agathon left Athens c.407, and died c.401; the play was therefore almost certainly written before the official introduction of Ionic script at Athens.

At a slightly earlier stage in the discussion (10. 453) we are told that Callias of Athens (presumably the comic playwright, whose

²³ Pfeiffer (1968: 30). Goold (1960: 273) suggests that the influence of the Homeric text caused the Ionic alphabet to become a literary standard.

²⁴ Cf. Immerwahr (1990: 18), Appendix I: 'The pressures leading to Ionian influence in the late sixth century clearly came from Ionians brought to Athens by the Peisistratids.'

dates are roughly fixed by epigraphic references²⁵ in 446 and 430) composed a *γραμματικὴν θεωρίαν* (elsewhere referred to as the *γραμματικὴν τραγωδίαν*), in which a chorus of twenty-four women represented the twenty-four letters of the (Ionic) alphabet: a passage from the prologue, quoted by Athenaeus, names the twenty-four letters which make up the chorus.²⁶ These fragments support the evidence from Euripides' *Theseus*.

3.1.5. The Attic Alphabet

On balance the evidence speaks in favour of the use of the Ionic alphabet in literary texts of the second half of the fifth century. It is nevertheless true that the *Acharnians* was written some quarter of a century before the official introduction of the Ionic alphabet. If for this reason we suppose that Aristophanes did not use the letters η and ω , he might still have used the digraphs $\epsilon\iota$ and $\omicron\upsilon$, since these orthographic innovations were not necessarily tied to the Ionic script. A scholion on *Birds* 66 shows awareness of the ambiguities which might result from the Attic script:

καὶ μὴν ἐροῦ τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν) γράφεται “καὶ μὴν ἐρώτα πρὸς ποδῶν”, ὅτι σαφέστερον. καὶ τάχα ἂν εἴη κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν σημασίαν γεγραμμένον τὸ ἔρο, μετελήφθη δὲ εἰς τὸ ω .

For ἐροῦ τὰ some manuscripts have ἐρώτα, which is clearer. And perhaps ἔρου was written ἔρο in the old script, and the $\omicron$ was then transliterated to ω .

That is to say, ἐροῦ τὰ would have been written *EPOTA* in the Attic alphabet. However, it should be remembered that the scholiasts frequently make unwarranted assumptions in their *horror vacui*. There is no reason to suppose that ancient commentators had better information than we do about which alphabet Aristophanes used.²⁷

The following is an overview of the data from the texts (the figures in parentheses, which are approximate, acknowledge the fact that there are inconsistencies in the manuscripts which, for the moment, we shall ignore):

²⁵ Test. 3 and 4 *PCG*.

²⁶ Test. 7 *PCG*.

²⁷ On this point see Goold (1960: 274 ff.), who cites Homeric passages where the scholia allege faulty transcription in order to justify changes to the text.

Lysistrata: we find vowels appropriate for Laconian:

η for Attic spurious²⁸ ει (in 60% of cases);

ω for Attic spurious ου (in 65% of cases).

Acharnians: we find vowels appropriate for Megarian:

ει for Attic spurious ει;

ου for Attic spurious ου (one instance of ω).

Acharnians: we find vowels appropriate for Boeotian:

ει for Attic η (in 40% of cases);

ω for spurious ου (in 45% of cases).

In the following sections we shall consider whether it is plausible to suppose that Aristophanes could have represented Boeotian and Laconian vowels using the Attic script.

3.1.5.1. Boeotian vowels

3.1.5.1.1. ει for Attic η

This indicates that in Boeotian the inherited long *e* had a more closed pronunciation than in Attic. If we assume that Aristophanes was using the Attic script, the question is how he could have signalled the difference in vowel quality (between the long open *e* of Attic and the long close *e* of Boeotian).

Aristophanes might have written ει to signal a different pronunciation. This spelling attained a degree of frequency in Attic over the course of the fifth century to indicate the 'spurious diphthong' close [e:]. There are a few examples of the spelling from the sixth century, and it would have been a familiar variant by 425. The history of Attic spelling (on inscriptions) can be checked by reference to Threatte.²⁹ His data show that the use of ⟨EI⟩ for close [e:] was very rare before c.500; however, during the fifth century, and especially after c.450, there was increasing use of ⟨EI⟩ for close [e:], accompanied by a few instances of ⟨E⟩ for the inherited ('true') diphthong [ei]. The first public inscription with ⟨EI⟩ = close [e:] is dated c.460, and has the typical mixture of ⟨E⟩ and ⟨EI⟩ for this vowel. This implies that close [e:] and inherited [ei] had fallen together by this stage.

We conclude that the epigraphic data do not contradict the hypothesis that Aristophanes could have used the spelling ει in

²⁸ This seems the simplest way to denote the writings ει and ου in cases where they represent secondary long *e* and *o* (see n. 10 above).

²⁹ Threatte (1980: 173 f., 238 f.).

425 to represent the close Boeotian vowel. In this case there would have been a contrast in the text between $\epsilon\iota$ for Boeotian inherited long e , and ϵ for the Attic equivalent (later η).

The Boeotians did not adopt the digraph $\langle EI \rangle$ for their close long e until the adoption of the Ionic alphabet around 400. It may be, therefore, that Aristophanes unwittingly anticipated the Boeotian spelling $\langle EI \rangle$, on the model of the Attic spelling.

3.1.5.1.2. ω for secondary long o (Attic ov)

This indicates that the new long o had a more open pronunciation than in Attic (and had merged with the inherited long o). If Aristophanes, using the Attic alphabet, wrote o for both ov and ω , then he would have had no means of distinguishing the open Boeotian [ɔ:] from the close Attic [o:]. The hypothesis that he was responsible for the distinction, but did not use the Ionic alphabet, can be maintained only by assuming that Aristophanes already in 425 used the digraph ov for the Attic 'spurious diphthong', and represented the open Boeotian sound with a simple o . After the introduction of the Ionic alphabet the o forms would have been replaced by ω , as elsewhere.

It would follow that Aristophanes at this period customarily used the digraphs $\epsilon\iota$ and ov to indicate close vowels (in Attic). It is worth noting, however, that epigraphic material shows that the spread of $\langle OY \rangle$ for close [o:] in fifth-century inscriptions is not parallel to the use of $\langle EI \rangle$ for close [e:]. $\langle EI \rangle$ was much more common, and at an earlier date, than $\langle OY \rangle$. Although there are examples of $\langle OY \rangle$ = close [o:] which date from the late sixth/early fifth centuries, use of the digraph was sporadic during the fifth century, and it remained rare in the period c.403–375. The spelling was finally fixed around 350.

3.1.5.2. Laconian vowels

The spellings η and ω for secondary long e and o are also found in Laconia after the adoption of Ionic script there. They indicate, presumably, that in Laconian secondary long e and o had fallen together with the inherited long vowels, and so had a more open quality than in Attic.³⁰

³⁰ It is of course always important to distinguish the script, the phonology, and the phonetics. It would be unwise to assume that secondary long e in Laconian had

The discussion in 3.1.5.1 above is relevant for the chronology of the spread of the digraphs <OY> and <EI> for secondary long vowels. If Aristophanes did not use η or ω , he could theoretically have signalled the difference in quality in the long vowels by using ϵ and o for open vowels (short and long), as opposed to ϵi and $o v$ for close vowels (but see 3.1.5.1 above for the restricted use of the digraph <OY> for secondary long o in the fifth century).

3.1.6. Conclusion

We have seen that although such evidence as there is points to the likelihood that Aristophanes used the Ionic alphabet throughout his career, he could still have signalled the vocalic differences between the dialects that we find in our text if we allow him use of the digraphs $o v$ and ϵi for long close vowels.

3.2. HELLENISTIC SCHOLARSHIP

Dialect forms not due to the poet might in principle have been added by his Hellenistic editors; it is at this stage that systematic alteration of the text, if there was any, is likeliest to have occurred. It will not have occurred earlier, since this was the first period of recension and scholastic activity; we can be sure it did not occur at a later date because of papyrus fragment Π¹⁹ (P. Berlin 13231),³¹ and of what we know about the Byzantine period of the tradition (see below, 3.3). The evidence, however, that this type of programmatic alteration in the dialect of a text was likely to have been carried out by Alexandrian scholars is extremely slight; so much so, in fact, that the burden of proof lies with those who wish to argue for a large-scale alteration. This has been undertaken in only a few cases: Risch set out to demonstrate that the text of the papyrus fragment of Alcman's *Partheneion* contains Doric forms which were added by an Alexandrian editor on the basis of the dialect of Cyrene; and on a slightly smaller scale Cassio argued

the same pronunciation as the sound represented by Attic η ; it is quite unlikely, in fact, since they occupied different places in different systems.

³¹ See 3.3 below for the evidence of this papyrus.

that the dialect of Archytas (a Tarentine) in fr. 1 D-K was altered by Nicomachus of Gerasa.³²

The similarities, however, between these two cases and the Aristophanic text are not great. The second, which is a short, poorly attested text to which a few Homeric Aeolicisms have been added, cannot be compared to the textual tradition of a major literary author such as Aristophanes. Similarly the *Partheneion* fragment did not survive in a manuscript tradition with a body of scholia and variants, but turned up in a papyrus; and Risch's thesis was seriously undermined by the publication of the Lille papyrus of Stesichorus.³³ More useful parallels to the text of Aristophanes are offered by the texts of other major authors in whose work dialect plays an important part, such as Theocritus and Callimachus (especially *Hymns* 5 and 6).

Study of the textual traditions of these two authors shows both types of interference in the dialect;³⁴ some forms have been Atticized, while others have been Doricized (sometimes wrongly).³⁵ But, while there is always room for doubt and debate concerning the authenticity of individual forms, there is no question of a massive import (or export) of dialect features. Non-authentic dialect forms in the text are the result of isolated 'corrections' by scribes rather than a conspiracy on the part of editors.³⁶

If, as we have suggested, the Aristophanic text was always in Ionic script, a question arises concerning the possible motives of an editor in adding dialect forms to the text on a large scale. It could not have been a matter of trying to recover original readings by means of a more accurate alphabet; the only motive in such circumstances could have been to 'improve' the text. We shall see,

³² Risch (1954); Cassio (1988).

³³ It is effectively refuted by Cassio (1993a).

³⁴ Cf. Young (1965: 258), 'The scribes' tendency to normalize or trivialize is not uniform, and sometimes they slip in a more poetic or dialectally recondite form . . . '.

³⁵ e.g. Callim. *Hymn* 5. 109 ἀβαράν, 6. 13 μάλα, Theocr. 1. 7 ποιμάν, Pindar *Ol.* 13. 50 μάτν. Cf. M. L. West (1973: 18 f.), who notes 'a . . . tendency, probably starting in late Hellenistic times, to try to preserve or restore original dialect forms. The effect was to introduce quantities of pseudo-Ionic forms into the tradition of Herodotus and the Hippocratica, and pseudo-Doric into that of the bucolic poems.' But see also Cassio (1993b).

³⁶ Cf. Bulloch (1985: 74), 'This process [sc. the corruption of the text] was clearly the result of ignorance and idle chance: scribes misunderstood or "corrected" individual items, but no-one attempted a systematic rewriting.'

however, that so far as we can tell this motive was not present in Alexandrian scholarship; Aristophanes of Byzantium seems to have been more interested in explaining and justifying the text than in improving it.

3.2.1. *Alexandria*

An edition of the text was prepared in Alexandria around 200 BC. This was the first 'bottle-neck' in the history of the text, which is to say that all available manuscripts were collated and a vulgate edition produced, from which all subsequent texts appear to derive. The Alexandrian scholars revised the texts which they collected (adding accents, etc.) and standardized the orthography and punctuation.³⁷ They also transliterated texts in the old Attic alphabet into the standard Ionic alphabet.

Forty-four plays by Aristophanes were collected in Alexandria in the third century. Various scholars wrote commentaries (*ὑπομνήματα*) and monographs on Old Comedy, but there is evidence of only one critical edition or recension of the Aristophanic text, which thereafter became the standard. This was the edition³⁸ of Aristophanes of Byzantium (Ar. Byz., to distinguish him from the playwright). This work seems to have been a distillation and final revision of the work on Comedy which had been done at Alexandria;³⁹ that is to say, it was a single text to replace the many which had been gathered and worked on in the library. Subsequently a selection of scholia from various previous commentaries was compiled by Didymus;⁴⁰ these were further sorted and reduced, and form the basis of the body of scholiastic material which survives in medieval manuscripts.

White believed that extant manuscripts derive from an archetype based on the work of a third redactor whose variorum edition quoted both Didymus and Symmachus; he placed this third

³⁷ See Pfeiffer (1968: 96), Reynolds and Wilson (1991: 6 ff.) on the library at Alexandria.

³⁸ For which see Pfeiffer (1968: 171 ff.), Pasquali (1952: 199), White (1914: xviii). That he produced an edition is made clear by a scholion on *Frogs* 153 (Slater 1986: 401): *τινες δὲ οὐ γράφουσι τὸν "νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς" . . . διὸ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης παρατλήσει τὸ ἀντίσκιμα καὶ τὸ σῆγμα* ('Some MSS do not contain the words "by the gods" . . . for this reason Aristophanes deletes the line').

³⁹ See Erbse (1961: 223).

⁴⁰ The 'first editor to compose a variorum edition of the Greek classics', White (1914: xxv). For the defects of Didymus' scholarship see S. West (1970).

edition in fourth- or fifth-century Constantinople. This is uncertain, but there is a general consensus that our text and scholia are descended from a variorum edition based on the work of Didymus and later compilers.⁴¹ It is possible that this was the first edition to contain both text and scholia (with scholia in the familiar marginal position).

This sketch of what can be reconstructed of the history of the text in the Hellenistic period has a number of implications for our study. Firstly, the text is the product of Alexandria rather than Pergamum; the influence of Pergamene work on Aristophanes seems to have been marginal (see also 3.2.2 below). Secondly, the only scholar who seems to have had an important input to the text (as opposed to the scholia) was Ar. Byz. himself.

Ar. Byz. became head librarian at Alexandria in about 194. He understood lyric metres (he produced a colometric text of Pindar), and was prepared to emend on metrical grounds. He did not write commentaries on the plays, but added introductions (*ὑποθέσεις*). It would be impossible to tell what sort of alterations Ar. Byz. made to the text, were it not for a few references to his work preserved in scholia and grammatical works. We can see from these references that he did at least take an interest in non-Attic dialect forms which he found in the texts he was editing.

A review of the little information we have regarding Ar. Byz.'s interest in dialect, and other clues that throw light on the main lines of his and his colleagues' philological activity, will give us a better idea of whether wholesale interference in dialect forms took place at this stage. We know that dialect cannot have been added wholesale at this period, since some forms are confirmed by the metre; but additional forms may have been added on the strength of those that were already in the text.

3.2.1.1. The editorial work of Aristophanes of Byzantium

References to dialect are to be found in the extant fragments of five treatises in which Ar. Byz. grouped linguistic peculiarities according either to subject-matter or to dialect. These treatises are examples of the glossographic compilations of arcane words which

⁴¹ White (1914: xlix), Henderson (commentary, p. lviii). Jones (1952: 169), 'our manuscripts of Aristophanes . . . are descended from a single archetype for both text and scholia'.

Hellenistic and Byzantine scholars loved to make. Fragments typically give an explanation of the headword (the γλῶσσα) and assign it to an area of the Greek-speaking world. Ar. Byz. does not, however, on the whole assign words to traditional dialect groupings (Doric, Aeolic), but to cities or geographical locations. The following fragments and testimonia (and much of the explanatory material) come from W. J. Slater's edition (1986).

3.2.1.1.1. *Περὶ τῶν ὑποπτευομένων μὴ εἰρήσθαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς*

In this work Ar. Byz. examined words that were suspected of having originated in the post-classical period. This exercise (which may be seen as a precursor of the linguistic and cultural movements later known as 'Atticism') was a constant obsession in post-classical scholarship.

(i) We find contrasts of the type (fr. 7) *παρ' ἡμῖν . . . παρ' Ἀττικοῖς* ('we say . . . but in Attic the usage was . . .'), in which *koine* usage is contrasted with classical Attic. Generally a line or two of an ancient author is quoted to support the position taken.

(ii) There are discussions of the contrast between old Attic forms (which were irregular) and recent *koine* forms in which the irregularities had been smoothed out by analogical levelling. Both verbs and nouns threw up regularized forms by this process.

In fr. 19 Hellenistic verbal forms such as *ἐλέγισαν* are discussed; the comment *φώνῃς Χαλκιδέων ἰδιά εἰσιν* ('such forms are characteristic of the speech of the Chalcidians') may indicate that Ar. Byz. thought these forms (which are analogical rebuildings) had entered the *koine* from the dialect of Chalcis (Euboea).⁴²

In fr. 25 C Eustathius (on the language of the Aetolians) implies that Ar. Byz. reconstructed a nom. *γέροντος* from the dat. plur. *γερόντους*. This dative, however, is clearly a result of analogical levelling (it is seen in other West Greek dialects), and the reconstructed *γέροντος* for *γέρων* is a mistake.⁴³

What is interesting is that in both cases he treated an ancient (non-Attic) dialect as a legitimate variety of Greek (in contrast,

⁴² Latte (1940: 58 f.) argues that Ar. Byz. (on the grounds that 'he was one of the best experts in Greek dialects and certainly could not have seriously intended to ascribe the idiom specially to the Chalcidian dialect') was blaming Lycophron. Cf. Wilamowitz (1924: ii. 147 with n. 1).

⁴³ Cf. Varro's assertion (*De Ling. Lat.* 9. 12) that Ar. Byz. was prepared to follow theory and ignore usage.

one might add, to the prevailing view of the *koine*, which was considered to be in some sense illegitimate).

3.2.1.1.2. *Περὶ ὀνομασίας ἡλικιῶν*

This was a treatise on the terms by which the various stages of life (from infancy to old age) were known. He assigns headwords to geographical locations, e.g. (fr. 47) ἐν δὲ Κυρήνῃ τοὺς ἐφήβους τριακατίους καλοῦσιν ('in Cyrene they call ephebes "triakatíoi"'). Similar statements are made about other regions (e.g. ἐν Κρήτῃ fr. 48) and peoples (Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ . . . fr. 49).

3.2.1.1.3. *Περὶ συγγενικῶν ὀνομάτων*

A treatise in which he gave terms which describe the relationships (family, social, and other) which hold between people; e.g. (fr. 334-336) . . . ἐν Κρήτῃ μνωίτας [μνώτας MSS] καὶ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ πενέστας καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι εἰλωτας ἐκάλουν ('in Crete they call [slaves] "mnoitai" and in Thessaly "penestai" and in Sparta "helots"'). Other fragments⁴⁴ give words which are alleged to be peculiar to Rhodes, Crete, Cyrene, Sicily, and Athens.

3.2.1.1.4. *Ἀττικαὶ λέξεις*

A list of glosses which gives peculiarities of pronunciation associated with Attic, as well as the usual list of lexical items.

(i) Fragments give words which Ar. Byz. had listed as peculiar to Attic (sometimes, as in fr. 337, he mentioned other dialects which were known to have the word as well); e.g. (fr. 338) δίοπος . . . ἀττικὴ δὲ ἡ λέξις, κειμένη καὶ παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν ἀττικαῖς λέξεσι καὶ παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ ἐν Σισύφῳ καὶ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Ἴππολύτῳ ('*diospos* [a ship's captain]: an Attic word, listed in Aristophanes' *Attic Words*, and found in Aeschylus' *Sisyphus* [fr. 232 R] and in Euripides' [first] *Hippolytus* [fr. 447 N].')

(ii) Fragments indicate that vowel length may vary between the dialects. Thus fr. 346 deals with the length of the middle syllable of *πέρδικος* which was short in other dialects but said here to be long in Attic; in fr. 347 (A-E) Ar. Byz. noted that in the comparative adjectives *καλλίων*, *ἡδίων*, *βελτίων*, *γλυκίων*, *κακίων* the *ι* is long in Attic.

⁴⁴ Frr. 232, 233, 235, 279, 280.

3.2.1.1.5. *Λακωνικαὶ γλῶσσαι*

In this work glosses are attributed to the Laconians, e.g. fr. 348 ἄδδα [cj. Valckenaer; ααδα MSS]. ἔνδεια, Λάκωνες.⁴⁵ ('*adda*: "lack, scarcity", Laconians').

It can be seen from the above that despite occasional remarks on long syllables, which were no doubt motivated by metrical considerations, there is no evidence for any systematic account by Ar. Byz. of phonological differences between the dialects. His treatment of forms such as ἐλέγσαν shows that he recognized morphological (as opposed to phonological or lexical) differences between the dialects, although the forms were listed as glosses in lexical lists.⁴⁶ His attitude is descriptive rather than prescriptive.

3.2.1.2. Ar. Byz. on Aristophanes

A few comments of Ar. Byz. survive (in a fragmentary state) on passages of Aristophanes. We can identify certain types of comment, which will have accompanied certain types of word which he found in the text.

3.2.1.2.1. On forms found only in comedy: were they comic coinages?

Frr. 25 A-E, 25 B, on *Birds* 42 τόνδε τὸν βάδον βαδίζομεν: the scholia on this passage record two views: one, that the otherwise unattested form ὁ βάδος was a comic invention (οἱ κωμικοὶ παλῖεν εἰώθασιν τὰ τοιαῦτα), and another (apparently that of Ar. Byz.) defending the form as a genuine Greek word, perhaps on analogical principles, or perhaps because he knew of its existence from another source. Modern commentators are equally divided: see the notes of Sommerstein and Dunbar ad loc.

⁴⁵ Cf. also frr. 349, 351, 352.

⁴⁶ In the absence of a systematic discipline dealing with linguistic categories it appears that perceived differences between dialects were treated on the level of words: thus, for example, the difference between Attic ἡμεῖς and dialect ἁμέ would be handled by saying simply that the non-Attic dialect had a different 'word' for ἡμεῖς. An indication of this approach is the constant use of the verbs καλέω and ὀνομάζω, which suggest lexical replacement. Cf. Gambarara (1984: 67 f.)

3.2.1.2.2. Words with different meanings in the classical period
Fr. 35, on *Birds* 436 *πλησίον τοῦπιστάτου*. Ar. Byz. showed that the noun *ἐπιστάτης* had a wider range of meanings in the classical period: he noted that *hoi polloi* take the word to mean either *trivet* or *beggar* (e.g. *Od.* 17. 455), whereas it can also mean *trainer* and *teacher*. In the present passage it must mean something close to *trivet* or *tripod*, in the sense of something commonly found in the kitchen (see Dunbar ad loc.), though the exact meaning and the form of the word are debated.

3.2.1.2.3. Apparently comic words also found in higher genres
Words which appear in comedy and which might seem to be restricted to this genre also appear in serious literature. Fr. 20 A-E: the verb *κοκκύζειν* ('cry "cuckoo"') [cf. Ar. *Eq.* 31] is not a comic invention, but is found, for example, in Hesiod *Erga* 486.

3.2.1.2.4. Emendation

A scholion on *Thesmo.* 162 says that Ar. Byz. (fr. 397) corrected *Ἀχαιὸς* to *Ἀλκαῖος*. This has been used to show⁴⁷ that he was willing to change the text itself when necessary.

It is clear from this poor amount of evidence that Ar. Byz. took an interest in the type of language used by Aristophanes, and did not content himself merely with checking that all the lines scanned properly. He sought to explain or justify words which looked anomalous from the point of view of classical Attic.

3.2.1.3. Aristophanes of Byzantium: philologist and editor

First of all we should note what we have *not* found in this brief survey: there are no extant attestations of the Atticization of a dialect form, nor of the replacement of an Attic form by a corresponding dialect form. Nor, as Pasquali points out, is there evidence that he was as a rule given to changing the text; his

⁴⁷ Cf. Pfeiffer (1968: 189), against Pasquali (1952: 199), who casts doubt on this: 'Qui lo scoliasta intende evidentemente attribuire ad Aristofane di Bisanzio una congettura. Ma egli non poteva sapere se quello non avesse semplicemente preso la lezione genuina da mss. che la conservavano, avesse, cioè, recensito e non emendato. L'analogia dei passi nei quali la critica alessandrina segnala una corruzione, ma non la corregge, raccomanda tale spiegazione.'

edition probably represented a tidying-up of the previous tradition, with notes giving variant readings.

However, since he must have standardized the orthography and probably added accents⁴⁸ he will have been forced to make decisions about dialect forms. For example, in the case of the Doric future the position of the accent is sometimes the only indicator. Since he was clearly aware that non-Attic dialects differed in phonology and morphology as well as in lexicon there is no reason to suppose that he would have Atticized dialect forms. Like many Hellenistic scholars, he was more interested in the differences between classical Attic and later Greek than between the classical dialects. However, he clearly recognized and accepted the diversity of the ancient dialects.

We have seen that when he found linguistic anomalies he sought to explain rather than delete or dismiss them. When the Alexandrians standardized the orthography in the Attic texts they were editing they used principles of analogy and consistency: it seems reasonable to suppose that Ar. Byz. will have used these principles when it came to sorting out dialect forms in the text. However, as Barrett points out in his introduction to Euripides' *Hippolytos*, 'if in one lifetime he edited 300 tragedies as well as Homer, Hesiod, Aristophanes, and the lyric poets, besides producing a good many miscellaneous philological treatises, his treatment of an individual [play] must of necessity have been summary.'⁴⁹

3.2.2. Pergamene Scholarship

Very little evidence has survived concerning the work of scholars at Pergamum on the text of Aristophanes. Although it is clear that there was a Pergamene textual tradition,⁵⁰ there is no evidence of a major input to the Alexandrian-based textual tradition as it survives. Fragments of Crates of Mallos in Mette's edition which might indicate that he took an interest in Aristophanic language are assigned to Crates of Athens by Jacoby (*FGrH* 362). There need be no serious concern that Pergamum was a source of interference in the language of the text.

⁴⁸ Pfeiffer (1968: 180f.).

⁴⁹ Barrett (1964: 47); cf. p. 48 and S. West (1970: 296) for a similar conclusion about Didymus.

⁵⁰ Σ *Birds* 1508 (V): ἐν τοῖς Ἀτταλίοις εὗρον σκιᾶδιον καὶ ἐν τῷ παλαιῷ τῷ ἐμῷ. ('In the Attalid MSS, and in my old one, I found the reading σκιᾶδιον'.)

3.3. EDITORS OF THE BYZANTINE RENAISSANCE

Classical scholarship came to an end in the seventh century AD and remained in neglect for two centuries. In the middle of the ninth century there was a cultural revival, during which ancient manuscripts which had survived were collected and transliterated from the large uncial script to minuscule. This was clearly another bottle-neck in the history of the text. The questions we have to consider are whether it is likely that dialect forms were first added systematically at this stage, and whether in this case it is plausible that a Byzantine archetype was produced from which all the medieval manuscripts derive.

The theory that all medieval MSS of Aristophanes derive from a ninth-century archetype was favoured by Wilamowitz and Coulon, among others, but has now fallen into disfavour.⁵¹ It seems more likely that several uncial manuscripts survived to be recopied, and that, although a Byzantine vulgate may well have emerged, the discovery of new manuscripts will have ensured that the tradition remained open. This makes it implausible to suppose that most dialect forms are the result of Byzantine activity.

The best piece of evidence that dialect colour was not added to the text by editors of the Byzantine renaissance is P. Berlin 13231 (Π¹⁹), which dates from the late fifth century AD. It contains fragments of *Acharnians* 593–975, conveniently including the appearance of both the Megarian and the Boeotian. The papyrus exhibits:

(i) dialect forms found in (some or all) medieval manuscripts: e.g. 751 1st pl. ending [-μ]ες; 754 οκα, τη[νωθεν]; 764 εγων[; 771 [ει]μεν, μαν; 773 ελλανων; 795 γινετα[ι], [κ]ρης; 817 ταν; 820 κει; 821 αρχα, αμιν; 905 σιω; 909 μικκ[ος]; 914 αδικεμενος; 954 ταν;

(ii) dialect forms not found in the manuscripts: 750 1st pl. ending -μες; 775 τυ;

(iii) Atticisms where the manuscripts have dialect forms: 748 εγω; 754 εγω;

(iv) confusion where the manuscripts are confused: 750 εικομες (ἦκ- R, ἰκ- cett.); 772 θυμιταν, corrected to θυμιτιαν (θυματιδᾶν AB,

⁵¹ Pohlenz (1952); Koster (1963); Reynolds and Wilson (1991: 60f.); see also Barrett (1964: 57–61); Dover, *Frogs*, p. 86.

θυμητιδάν Γ, θυμητιδαν R, etc.); 791 αλλανπ (also R, αἰ δ' ἄν or similar cett., ἀλλ' αἰ cj. Ahrens, αἰ δ' ἄμ- cj. Wilamowitz).

Most importantly, the papyrus reveals that the text was not in a significantly better or worse state in the late fifth century than in the medieval manuscripts.⁵²

One of the branches of the mediaeval tradition goes back to an edition by Demetrius Triclinius (1280–after 1332), who worked in Thessalonica. He revised the text of eight plays, including the *Acharnians* but not the *Lysistrata*. Although in other areas he often restores the right reading in the text, the evidence of manuscripts that go back to his edition indicate that, if anything, he was prone to Atticize dialect forms (e.g. Triclinian manuscripts consistently give Attic η for Boeotian $\epsilon\iota$). There is no case where a dialect form is confined to Triclinian manuscripts.⁵³

Gregory of Corinth (fl. c. 1120–50) drew on the dialect scenes of *Acharnians* in a haphazard way to illustrate his treatise on the Greek dialects (in particular *De dialecto Dorica*, for which he also draws on Pindar, Theocritus, and Homer). There is not the slightest reason to suppose that any editor or scribe embellished the Aristophanic text on the basis of this undistinguished work. If this were the case one would expect to find, for example, peculiarities of Pindar or Theocritus which Gregory lists imported into branches of the Aristophanic tradition: cf. *De dial. Dor.* §11 τὸ ἦλθεν ἦνθεν λέγουσιν, ὡς Θεόκριτος, or §23 τὸ τί τά λέγουσι. Πίνδαρος.

3.4. CONCLUSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

In view of the complications involved in reconstructing a text which bears a reasonable resemblance to the playwright's autograph, the linguist is right to be cautious in using the evidence of medieval manuscripts in the investigation of non-standard linguistic forms. Nevertheless, the situation is not entirely hopeless. We have seen that the necessary orthographic resources to

⁵² Cf. Pasquali (1952: 196), 'Tali miglioramenti dialettali sono tra i più dimostrativi per la probità di una tradizione, perché si può difficilmente supporre che un amanuense o anche un editore avesse così profonda preparazione linguistica da accorgersi dell'errore e avvisare ai rimedi.'

⁵³ For a complete discussion of Triclinius' work on the text see Koster (1957).

indicate dialect were available to the playwright, most probably in the form of the Ionic alphabet; and we have excluded systematic interference in dialect forms at the latest stage of transmission (the Byzantine renaissance and after). We have seen that there is no evidence to lead us to conclude that dialect forms in the text are the result of Alexandrian editorial activity, and this impression is strengthened by the small number of forms that we find confirmed by the metre. Wilamowitz⁵⁴ came to a similar optimistic conclusion with reference to *Lysistrata*.

3.4.1. *Dialect Interpolations*

There are two certain cases of non-authentic dialect forms in the manuscripts of *Lysistrata* and *Acharnians*:

- (a) *Lys.* 988: $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota \delta\rho$ R (and $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\rho$ Hesych.); $\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}\rho \Gamma^2$
 $\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \Gamma, \rho, B$
 $(\text{F})\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ van Leeuwen and later edd. (3.4.3 below)

Final *s* was not rhotacized in Laconian until a much later date (2nd c. AD). Cf. Bourguet (1927: 120).

- (b) *Ach.* 762 (Megarian): $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota a$ ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota$ R, Pap.).

The second of these is clearly a scribal hyper-correction. The first is more difficult to account for. Cortsen (1899: 41) suggested that owing to the false separation of the word $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota$ in R, scribes were left with the impossible sequence $\sigma\sigma\gamma a$ which was consequently changed into the more acceptable looking $\delta\rho\gamma\acute{a}$. This view removes the problem tidily, but is open to two objections: (i) someone who knew enough Greek to worry that the sequence $\sigma\sigma\gamma a$ was impossible would presumably realize that the emended $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota \delta\rho\gamma\acute{a}$ does not make sense; and (ii) it does not easily account for $\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}\rho \Gamma^2$, where neither etacism nor false segmentation has taken place. It may be, therefore, that both $\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}\rho$ existed in the source(s) from which the extant manuscripts derive, with the

⁵⁴ Wilamowitz (1900: 95), 'In der Ausgabe, deren Fundamente die Alexandriner gelegt haben, hat kein Grammatiker die dialektischen Formen nachträglich umgeschrieben: wie sollte er dazu kommen, wo ist ein Anhalt zu solcher Annahme? Einzelverderbnisse haben sie natürlich betroffen, ebenso wie das Attische, aber wie dies im ganzen wunderbar rein den Zustand der Handschriften wiedergiebt, die den Alexandrinern vorlagen, also einen attischen Text etwa aus dem Ausgange des vierten Jahrhunderts, so müssen die dialektischen Partien auch auf eine Grundlage derselben Zeit zurückgeführt werden.'

rhotacized form surviving in R and the source of Γ^2 , and $\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}s$ in all the rest. Since the rhotacized form can hardly predate the second century AD it cannot represent a (Laconizing) recension (there is no evidence for an edition after the Alexandrian vulgate), and the rhotacized form is in any case completely isolated. The fact that the word (ϕ) $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}s$ is a Laconian 'gloss' may point to the answer: Henderson⁵⁵ has suggested that an ancient commentator quoted a parallel gloss or phrase ad loc. as an illustration of the Laconian word, and this (rhotacized) form later got preserved in scholia and eventually intruded as a variant in some manuscripts.

3.4.2. Editorial Principles

Although it is not our job to construct a text, we should consider briefly the various principles of emendation that can be adopted by editors when manuscripts present different versions of the same form (typically dialect and non-dialect) in different places.⁵⁶

Some editors prefer not to emend at all, but in all cases adopt the reading supported by the strongest combination of manuscripts. This would entail, for example, printing $\epsilon\iota$ instead of Megarian $a\iota$ at *Acharnians* 788, whereas in seven other places the manuscripts support the reading $a\iota$. Other editors are happy to generalize dialect forms throughout the text: thus Coulon prints $\epsilon\iota$ for η throughout the Boeotian passage of *Acharnians*, even though η is attested in seven cases and $\epsilon\iota$ is attested in six.

Three principles seem to stand out. First, dialect forms known from inscriptions or other literary sources should not be inserted into the text without any manuscript authority. We should not, therefore, be justified in changing $a\iota$ to η or v to ov in the Boeotian passages of *Acharnians*. Secondly, a full apparatus which gives the readings of all relevant manuscripts cannot be dispensed with, especially when an editor decides to print a form not supported by any manuscript at that particular place (an obvious point, but one not always adhered to). Thirdly, our conclusions concerning the history of the text will lead us to expect Atticizing rather than the reverse.

⁵⁵ *per litt. electr.* My discussion of the text at this point owes much to his kind response to a query.

⁵⁶ See in general M. L. West (1973); also Verbaarschot (1988) and Colvin (1995) with particular reference to the Aristophanic text.

It seems reasonable to generalize morphological and lexical features which are characteristic of a particular dialect when they are well supported by manuscripts in a reasonable number of cases. Thus I should have no hesitation in printing *ai* in the case of *Acharnians* 788 mentioned above. However, greater caution is required when it comes to phonological features. First, we have no direct access to the phonological differences that Aristophanes wanted to signal, since we are dealing with the orthographic conventions of the Attic dialect. Secondly, it is not at all unlikely that Aristophanes will have been inconsistent in his representation of phonological characteristics, especially when they are not tied to a particular morphological category. In this respect Coulon is over-bold in generalizing *ei*, since its presence in *Θειβαθεν* does not guarantee its presence in e.g. *μη* (900, 903). On the other hand, as I have indicated ad loc., it seems reasonable to extend *-ως* of the acc. plur. to words which show *-ους* in *Acharnians* 874-9 (Boeotian).

3.3. APPENDIX: THE MANUSCRIPTS OF ACHARNIANS AND LYSISTRATA

(i) *Acharnians*

Symbols used for manuscripts and manuscript-groups are as follows:

R = Ravenna, Biblioteca Comunale Classense 429 (10th c.)

a = hyparchetype of A, Γ, E

A = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 2712 (14th c.)

Γ = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, pl. 31. 15 (14th c.)

E = Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a U. 5. 10 (14th c.)

j = hyparchetype of *c* and Tr

c = hyparchetype of C and Vp₃

C = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 2717 (15th c.)

Vp₃ = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 128

Tr = MS similar to *c* edited by Triclinius, hyparchetype of B, H, Vp₂, L, Vv

B = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 2715 (15th c.); derived from Γ after l. 788 according to Sommerstein (commentary, p. 35)

H = Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. kgl. Slg. 1980 (15th c.)

Vp2 = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 67 (15th c.)

L = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham 88 (15th c.), a *gemellus* of the MS on which the text and scholia of Ald. are based⁵⁷

Vv17 = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2181 (late 14th c.)

Ald. = Aldine *editio princeps* (Venice, 1498)

Sud. = Suda (a literary and historical lexicon compiled in the late 10th c. AD)

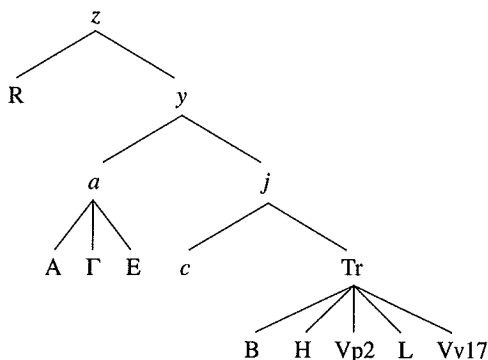
Σ^R = a scholion in R ad loc.

Γ^1 = the original reading of Γ

Γ^2 = a correction added in Γ

Pap. = Π^{19} , P. Berlin 13231 (late 5th c. AD); latest report Maehler (1984: 19–28)

The following simplified stemma is based on Sommerstein's edition (1980):



R is the most important manuscript. Γ and E are also important, and have been corrected where A has errors. The occasional correct readings in B are likely to be the result of scholarly

⁵⁷ Cf. Wilson (1962); also Sicherl (1979) for a report on a fragment (Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste 347) of the MS used by the Aldine editor.

correction. For further discussion of the value of individual manuscripts, and more sophisticated stemmata, see the editions of Elliott and Sommerstein,⁵⁸ and Cary (1907).

(ii) *Lysistrata*

Symbols used for manuscripts and manuscript-group are as follows:

R = Ravenna, Biblioteca Comunale Classense 429 (10th c.); only MS of whole play

Γ = Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Vossianus gr. F. 52 (14th c.); ll. 1-61, 132-99, 268-819, 890-1034 (final leaves lost)

p = hyparchetype of Vp2 and H; a text similar to, perhaps derived from, Γ; same lines as Γ, plus 1035-97, 1237-1321

B = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 2715 (15th c.); a text similar to, perhaps derived from, Γ; same lines as *p*

The papyrus fragments of the play do not help with the dialect passages. One fragment (P. Colon. 3, Austin 43) contains ll. 182-99, in which 183 and 198 belong to Lampito; unfortunately both lines are too mutilated to be of any use.

The history of the *Lysistrata* is simpler than that of the *Acharnians*, since it is more poorly attested. The tradition has just two strands: one represented by R, the other by Γ (with the occasional witness of *p*/B). The ancestor of ΓVp2HB had clearly lost some pages before it was copied. For detailed discussion of the manuscripts see Henderson's edition.⁵⁹

There is no evidence of a Triclinian recension of the *Lysistrata*, and the play did not appear in the Aldine edition of the 1498.

⁵⁸ Elliott (1914: vii-xxxix); Sommerstein (commentary, pp. 34-6).

⁵⁹ Henderson (1987: l-lxix).

Non-Attic Dialect in Aristophanes

4.0. INTRODUCTION

In the extant comedies Aristophanes introduces characters speaking in a dialect other than Attic for extended periods in three cases.

Laconian appears in the *Lysistrata* spoken by three Spartan characters (Lampito 81-253, the Spartan herald 980-1013, and the Spartan ambassador 1076-1199, 1242-end).

Megarian appears in the *Acharnians* spoken by a hungry citizen of Megara who has disguised his daughters as pigs in the hope of selling them (729-835).

Boeotian appears also in the *Acharnians*, spoken by a merchant from Thebes who brings a wide variety of goods to sell (860-954).

These passages have attracted attention in the past, not least because of the editorial complications they cause. In the present century analyses of the dialect forms in the Aristophanic plays have been restricted to commentaries on the individual plays.¹ The only study which has taken *Acharnians* and *Lysistrata* together is the appendix ('Excursus III') to Elliott's (1914) edition of *Acharnians*. This is a comparative sketch of the three dialects in question. It is organized historically rather than synchronically (e.g. 'ε + ο is contracted to ου in μὲν 868 . . .'). The limitations are that it is now out of date, there are mistakes, there are omissions, and it does not aim to be exhaustive. Treatments in modern editions of the plays are very brief, and intended to offer no more than a guide to the reader.

¹ Early analyses were hampered by inadequate access to dialect inscriptions (the only 'monograph' on the subject before the present century is the four-page discussion by Cortsen, 1899).

4.0.1. *General Considerations*

4.0.1.1. Presentation and analysis of the data

There are a number of different ways in which a large amount of comparatively complex material can be laid out. The method of presentation chosen here has been guided, as far as possible, by certain basic questions:

(i) Whether Aristophanes' representation is superficial and stereotypical.

(ii) Whether his rendering of the dialects is uneven—e.g. whether Laconian is more accurately represented than Boeotian.²

(iii) Whether the rendering of the various linguistic categories within each dialect is uneven (e.g. phonology might be more accurately represented than morphology).

(iv) Whether the representation of dialect features can be reduced to a number of replacement rules which were applied to Attic in a blanket fashion, or whether dialect colour was handled at the level of words.

The data available to us for comparison with the Aristophanic material are for the most part epigraphic. That is to say, when the question arises whether a certain form is characteristic of (e.g.) Laconian or not, all we can do is check whether that form (or similar) is attested in the limited corpus of epigraphic texts that we label Laconian. Other information may be useful in specific cases: literary texts, evidence provided by grammarians, etc. In what follows we shall provide for each dialect a brief account of what data are available; an appendix provides more detailed information (including bibliographical information).

The handbooks on the Greek dialects are for the most part out of date, and though generally useful they follow a more strongly genetic model of dialectology than is now the custom. In practical terms, when data are missing for a particular region (which is often the case for Laconia and the Megarid) they follow evidence from the colonies rather than evidence from neighbouring regions (often omitting to specify when they are doing this). There is no doubt that the colonies are an important extra source of linguistic

² For the use of the term 'accuracy' cf. 1.3.2.1; we have already observed that no literary author sets out to provide a 'correct' representation of non-standard dialect.

information, but two (related) considerations have to be borne in mind: (i) there is often a substantial time-difference between the last quarter of the fifth century (the period in question) and the colonial data; and (ii) the colonies will have been in linguistic interaction with their new neighbours (for example, in Sicily) while the areal influences on the mother city were quite different.

For simplicity's sake (and with a certain degree of arbitrariness) the material has been set out under four traditional headings: Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, and Lexicon. The lay-out of the material has been designed from a synchronic perspective:³ the situation envisaged is that of a speaker/writer who operates within his own dialect but aims at switching to another dialect with which, in all likelihood, he is imperfectly acquainted. If we want to establish how this was done we must reject standard accounts of the type 'in Attic inherited [a:]/ $\bar{a}$ changes to [ɛ:]/ η while other dialects preserve it'. This is not the type of knowledge Aristophanes could have had or which could have determined his choice of dialect forms. It is more useful to consider whether, in such circumstances, speakers (or writers) operated in terms of synchronic replacement rules of the type: 'What does dialect X have when Attic has [ɛ:]/ η ?' It is hoped that this approach will make it easier to see in which cases (if any) the playwright was operating a general replacement rule (of the type 'Replace all cases of Attic [ɛ:]/ η with [a:]/ $\bar{a}$ '); or whether the method was more of a word-by-word replacement, which might indicate a greater degree of familiarity with the dialect in question.

Historical evidence is used to establish what the relevant dialect forms were, since our evidence for the dialects is necessarily incomplete. Thus the listing of $\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\upsilon}$ as a Laconian dialect form does not imply that $\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\upsilon}$ is attested in Laconian inscriptions, but simply that we know (because of our knowledge of the historical development of Greek vowels) that the expected form is, in fact, that which appears in the Aristophanic text. For this reason a historical account is often indispensable; in our analysis the synchronic heading is normally followed by some historical information.⁴

³ In all linguistic studies the way in which the data are laid out reveals whether the primary aim of the investigation is synchronic or diachronic: cf. Newton (1972: §§1.1-2) for discussion of this issue in relation to the Modern Greek dialects.

⁴ Forms in the Aristophanic text which are thought accurately to reflect the

4.0.1.2. The four levels of analysis

The arrangement of the data is somewhat different in the various sections and subsections. The nature of the material in each case lends itself to different modes of presentation for the sake of convenience and economy.

There are some dialect items which are lexically different from their semantic equivalents in Attic (e.g. Doric λῶ 'I wish'); such items may however provide evidence for some phonological peculiarity of the dialect. In such cases words are listed under Phonology as well as Lexicon; listing a word under Phonology, therefore, does not imply that if one switched the phonological feature in question one would end up with the Attic equivalent.

The Morphology section deals with words which differ in shape from their Attic equivalents. This is a slightly vague description; the features it covers are more than simple phonological alternations, while generally being instances of the same lexeme.⁵ The headings are less uniform than under Phonology, reflecting the more diverse nature of the features.

The third section deals with grammatical constructions and usages which differ among the dialects.

The fourth section is concerned with lexical and idiomatic items which are either completely unknown in Attic, or confined to high poetry. In the case of words which were poetic in Attic, it cannot be inferred automatically that they were colloquial in other dialects just because they appear in the mouths of Aristophanes' dialect speakers. The placing of items in this section sometimes reflects judgements about the status of the items: e.g. putting West Greek γα under 'Lexicon' rather than 'Phonology' indicates that it is difficult to find a regular phonological rule which accounts for the difference between γα and γε (though there is an irregular correspondence). It is unfortunate, however, that it is in the same category as (for example) λῶ, as the latter is a Doric word not used in Attic. Similarly, there are various forms which

epigraphic material are listed first, followed by forms considered doubtful or even bad dialect. This last phrase is merely a convenient heading: it may be that the forms in question go back to the autograph, or are the result of textual corruption.

⁵ Morphological differences may have been *caused* by phonological differences (e.g. loss of digamma at different periods). Another important factor is analogical levelling (the tidying-up of messy paradigms within a dialect).

could reasonably be put under the heading of either Morphology or Lexicon; in the case of Laconian some adverbial forms (e.g. *πανταῖ*) could well be regarded as idiomatic Laconian lexical items, but since *πανταῖ* differs from Attic *πάντα* only in the inflectional ending (although it is a fossilized category, viz. the instrumental), it is perhaps best described as a morphological difference. There may be cases where the reader disagrees with the judgement that has been made, and there are a number of forms which are listed both under Lexicon and under another heading (Phonology or Morphology).

4.0.1.3. The text and the metre

In Chapter 3 we looked at the difficulty of deciding what is original and what the result of interference in texts which have been hand-copied at some stage in their history.⁶ Fortunately it is easier to get an idea of how much corruption is present in verse texts than in prose texts, since the metre can quite often be used to guarantee the presence of certain linguistic forms, and to rule out the possibility of others; this technique is regularly used in establishing modern standard texts of ancient authors. In investigating the level of dialect representation in Aristophanes, therefore, all the dialect forms can be tested by a metrical analysis of the text.

The standard 'conversational' metre in comedy (as in tragedy) is the iambic trimeter.⁷ This is a three-unit line, each unit of which consists of two iambic 'feet' (short + long, $\cup -$). Choral passages are written in a variety of lyric metres, which range in complexity from simple dactyls (e.g. *Lys.* 1286–1300) to complicated polymetric passages (e.g. *Lys.* 1300–15). Clearly the number of linguistic forms that can be guaranteed depends on the predictability of the metre at the point in question, which is why lyric verse without responsion is not very useful for this purpose. This problem is found only in *Lysistrata*, however.

It is unfortunate for our purposes that the comic trimeter is extremely flexible. Resolution is frequent,⁸ and anapaestic feet

⁶ Cf. Tolkien (1934) for the same problem with the text of Chaucer.

⁷ *μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων τὸ ἰαμβεῖόν ἐστιν* ('for the iambic is the closest to real conversation of the metrical schemes'). Aristotle, *Poetics* 4, 1149^a25.

⁸ Resolution, i.e. substitution of two short for one long syllable, occurs in 47% of trimeters in Aristophanes: this compares with 5–10% in Aeschylus, 5% in

(∪ -) are permitted throughout the line. The scheme, for reference, is as follows:

$$\begin{array}{lll} \parallel x - \cup - & \parallel x - \cup - & \parallel x - \cup x \parallel \\ \parallel x \cup \cup \cup & \parallel x \cup \cup \cup & \parallel x \cup \cup \parallel \\ \parallel \cup - \cup - & \parallel \cup - \cup - & \parallel \cup - \parallel \end{array}$$

[x = *anceps*, i.e. long or short syllable possible]

In considering whether a form is guaranteed by the metre, we should note that there are four possible levels of disruption that would leave metrically acceptable lines:

- (i) A change in the text would not alter the metrical pattern.
- (ii) A change in the text would entail swapping a long for a short or vice-versa in *anceps* position.
- (iii) A change in the text would entail resolution (or its removal).
- (iv) A change in the text would entail substitution (or removal) of an anapaest.

These differences are not always remarked on in the following analysis, but it is perhaps worth bearing them in mind. Atticizing scribes might well have been prepared to undertake (i) and (ii), but it is not clear whether they would have gone as far as (iv). An Alexandrian editor preparing a recension, on the other hand, may have been prepared to employ all the possibilities presented by the metre. In the following analysis all forms (whether Attic or dialect) which are confirmed by the metre are identified. Forms which are not explicitly marked as confirmed should be assumed to be unconfirmed; in these cases the metre gives us no help in deciding between Attic and dialect forms.

4.0.2. *Laconian*

Laconian is represented in four scenes of *Lysistrata*: vv. 81-253 by Lampito, 980-1013 by a Spartan herald, and 1076-1199, 1242-5 by a Spartan ambassador, who at the end of the play sings two passages of lyrics (1248-72, 1296-1320). Laconian forms in these

Sophocles, and 5-35% (depending on the date of composition) in Euripides (M. L. West 1982).

two passages are of less value than forms found elsewhere in the play, for two reasons:

(i) It is less easy to be sure that forms are guaranteed by the metre in passages of (polymetric) lyric than in iambs.

(ii) Lyric passages of drama were traditionally given a Doric colouring and contain 'high' poetic vocabulary, which obscures to a certain extent the difference between Attic and Laconian dialect.

Words which appear to be confirmed in the lyric have not been marked as guaranteed, since the conventional analysis of the polymetric verse⁹ could theoretically be altered to take account of metrical changes that a different form might entail. The two passages are examined in detail in an appendix.

4.0.2.1. Laconian dialect: sources

There is a notorious scarcity of Laconian inscriptions from the classical period; this leaves us in the paradoxical position of having a poor knowledge of the dialect of one of the most important states of the period. Epigraphic material comes (in small quantities) from Laconia and Messenia, from the Laconian colony Taras, and the Tarantine colony Heracleia. The Heracleian Tablets are a good source of epigraphic material, but are already quite late (end of the fourth century). See Appendix I for a review of the published sources of Laconian inscriptions since the last major handbook (that of Thumb and Kieckers, published in 1932).

There are also some literary sources for Laconian. These are not very substantial since Sparta, for reasons to do with her political culture, did not produce written literature in the classical period. The material includes the following:

(i) Some work of the lyric poet Alcman survives from the Archaic period. The language is of course a literary language, and contains epic elements as well as Doric.

(ii) In Thucydides 5. 76-9 the text of two treaties is given which appear to be written in Laconian (see 2.3.1.2.2 above).

(iii) Various fragments of Old Comedy survive in which Laconian speakers are portrayed (see ch. 5 below).

(iv) In later Greek literature short phrases and glosses are

⁹ See e.g. Henderson's commentary *ad loc.*

preserved: for example, in the lexicon of Hesychius, and in Plutarch (*Lives, Sayings of the Spartans*, etc.).

(v) We have some literature written in non-Laconian Doric dialect; this includes fragments of the dramatic writers Epicharmus and Sophron, which appear to be in Sicilian Doric. From the Hellenistic period there is Theocritus, who subtly varies the dialect of his poems to reflect their generic affiliations: some are written in a language which seems to echo a genuine Doric idiom,¹⁰ while others are in a conventional mixture of literary Doric and epic.

(vi) In addition to the above, there is literary Doric, by which is meant Doric dictated by the poetic medium rather than the poet's native idiom. The distinction between this and (for example) Alcman or Theocritus is to a certain extent artificial; all literary language is *Kunstsprache*, and indeed Alcman is not without a proportion of epic forms. Of the lyric poets it is Pindar who survives in the greatest quantity.

There are two reasons for citing the sources listed above in discussion of Aristophanic dialect:

(i) As has been indicated, they provide an additional source for Doric when the epigraphic material fails. This does not rank with epigraphic material as a source for epichoric forms, but is nevertheless vital for parts of the lexicon which are alien to inscriptions (such as second-person pronouns, etc.).

(ii) They give an idea of the literary repertoire of Doric which Aristophanes and others were able to draw on. Clearly, later poets such as Theocritus cannot have been a source for Old Comedy, but they nevertheless represent a tradition of written Doric. If we found in Old Comedy only those features and forms which are common in written Doric, this would be an indication that the playwright's knowledge of the epichoric dialect was weak, and that the idiom of his Doric-speaking characters is part of a literary tradition.

4.0.2.2. Laconian dialect: overview

Ahrens grouped Laconian with the dialects of Crete, Cyrene, and the colonies as 'Doris severior' (the principal criterion being the

¹⁰ Perhaps that of Ptolemaic Alexandria, rather than Syracuse: see Ruijgh (1984).

presence of η , ω from secondary lengthening).¹¹ In Bartoněk's updated scheme (*Doris severior*, *media*, and *mitior*) 'Doris severior' comprises two subgroups, Laconian–Messenian and Cretan–Cyrenaean.¹² Doric is itself a subgroup of West Greek (the other branch is North-West Greek).

4.0.2.3. Summary of features in the late fifth century

Laconian shares basic features with other West Greek dialects, including Megarian. Common West Greek characteristics include:¹³ (1) inherited $\bar{a}$ maintained, (2) $-\tau\iota$ maintained in verbal endings and $(\text{f})\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\tau\iota$ ('20') etc., (3) inherited $\tau\omicron\iota/\tau\alpha\iota$ (Attic $\omicron\iota/\alpha\iota$), (4) $\acute{\iota}\alpha\rho\acute{o}s$, (5) modal particle $\kappa\alpha$, (6) $\acute{\sigma}\kappa\alpha$ etc. (Attic $\acute{\sigma}\tau\epsilon$), (7) verbal 1st pl. $-\mu\epsilon s$, (8) athematic infin. in $-\mu\epsilon\nu$, (9) fut. suffix $-\sigma\epsilon-$, (10) $\alpha\acute{\iota}$ 'if' (Attic $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$), (11) pronouns $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}s$, $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}s$, (12) $\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega$ (Attic $\acute{\eta}\kappa\omega$), (13) apocope of prepositions.

The following features are found in many West Greek dialects, including Laconian: (14) η and ω for Attic $\epsilon\iota$ and $\omicron\nu$ when these vowels are the result of contraction or compensatory lengthening (i.e. the secondary vowels have merged with the inherited vowels, cf. 4.0.3.3 below), and (15) digamma is retained.

Features which are distinctively (though not exclusively) Laconian include (16) secondary intervocalic $s > h$ (from an early date), (17) σ for θ (not in the earliest inscriptions), (18) υ represents [u] not [y].

4.0.3. Megarian

Megarian is represented at *Acharnians* 729–835.

4.0.3.1. Megarian dialect: sources

The amount of epigraphic evidence from Megara is rather small. It can be supplemented with evidence from colonies of Megara (notably from Selinous in Sicily), but since the period of colonization was 250–300 years before the date of the composition of the play, this evidence must be treated with care. In the case of

¹¹ Ahrens (1839–43: ii. 5 f.).

¹² Bartoněk (1972: 116 f., 185 f.).

¹³ See Thumb–K. §§177–84, Buck §§223–5 for more detailed overviews.

digamma, for example (4.1.19), the situation in Megara is likely to have differed from that in Selinous.

In the following section forms in the text have been supported by epigraphic evidence from the other West Greek dialects—especially Corinthian and neighbouring dialects—where evidence is not available from Megara or her colonies. Abbreviations indicating the provenance of inscriptions are as follows:

Meg.	Megarid (Megara, Aegosthena, Pagae)
Byz.	Byzantium
Chalc.	Chalcedon
Sel.	Selinous
Chers. Taur.	Crimean Chersonesus

For an account of modern epigraphic sources see Appendix I.

There are no literary sources for Megarian: many of the surviving fragments which are attributed to the Megarian poet Theognis are too doubtful to be of any use: the dialect is in any case a mixture of literary dialect forms (e.g. the acc. plur. of the second-person pronoun exists in the forms ἡμᾶς and ᾗμμε, but not the expected ᾗμε). The principles underlying citation are the same as for Laconian.

4.0.3.2. Megarian dialect: overview

Megarian can be classed with the Saronic subgroup of Doric (West Greek). The Doric dialects of the northern Peloponnese were described as 'less severe' than the southern dialects in old-fashioned terminology because they share a few features with the East Greek dialects, such as *eu/ou* for secondary [e:] and [o:] (see 4.0.3.3 below). Megarian can also be grouped together with the dialects around the Saronic gulf which stretch from the plain of Megara round to Troezen.¹⁴ The position of Megara in the middle of the Isthmus was unfortunate historically for the inhabitants of the city; from the point of view of dialect the effect will have been to make the dialect the 'least severe' of all the Doric dialects owing to areal influence. To the north-east Megarian territory runs into that of Attica near Eleusis; to the north-west lies Boeotia, and

¹⁴ i.e. the Megarid, Aegina, Corinth, Epidauros, Troezen. See Bartoněk (1971), (1972: 178–81); R. Schmitt (1977: 34–7).

some Boeotian influence can be detected in the dialect of Aegosthena.

The earliest substantial inscriptions from Megara that we possess date from the late fourth century when the influence of the *koine* is already making itself felt. The difficulty in using the evidence of the colonies has already been touched on. The evidence from Selinous must clearly be used, since it provides material from an earlier date than Megara, but potential for divergence must not be underestimated; the dialect of Selinous will have been susceptible to the influence of the other Doric dialects of Sicily rather than the non-Doric dialects of the Isthmus.¹⁵

4.0.3.3. Summary of features in the late fifth century

There are no features in the dialect which are peculiar to it. It shows common West Greek characteristics listed under Laconian above (4.0.2.3, (1)–(13)). A feature which distinguishes it from southern Doric and West Argolic is the development of secondary long *e* and *o* into long close vowels (as opposed to the open quality of inherited $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{o}$); after adoption of Ionic letters they are written $\epsilon\iota/\omicron\upsilon$.¹⁶

4.0.4. Boeotian

Boeotian is represented at *Acharnians* 860–954.

4.0.4.1. Boeotian dialect: sources

The amount of epigraphic material from Boeotia is relatively high. There are short archaic inscriptions from the Ptoion at Acraephia; later material comes from Thebes, Thespieae, Tanagra, Coroneia, Chaeronea, Lebadeia, and half a dozen other places. For details of epigraphic sources see Appendix I.

There are no very useful literary sources for Boeotian. Hesiod and Pindar were both Boeotian, but neither wrote in his native

¹⁵ Cf. Bartoněk (1973).

¹⁶ Cf. Bartoněk (1971: 119): 'die Ersatzdehnung ist für die Klassifizierung der dorischen Dialekte von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung'. Sicilian Doric also has $\omicron\upsilon$ and $\epsilon\iota$.

dialect.¹⁷ The principal source is the poet Corinna; this is rather difficult evidence, however, owing to the uncertainty of her date and the difficulties of the text. D. L. Page (1953: 46 f.) has a useful review of the dialect features; there is also discussion of the dialect and date of Corinna by M. L. West (1970). It seems to me most likely that she is late (3rd cent.) rather than early (a contemporary of Pindar).¹⁸ If this is so, linguistic forms from Corinna will be evidence for Boeotian dialect, but cannot be taken as a model for the Aristophanic representation of Boeotian. However, the value of the text as linguistic evidence is in any case limited, as D. L. Page notes: 'The dialect of Corinna may therefore be summarily defined as a literary dialect, pronounced and spelt in the Boeotian manner, and admitting sporadically features of Boeotian vernacular.'¹⁹

If Aristophanes had a model for representing or imitating Boeotian, it is most likely to have been an earlier comic text: Boeotians, and particularly Thebans, seem to have been obvious comic targets for the Athenians.

4.0.4.2. Boeotian dialect: overview

The genetic and areal affiliations of Boeotian are far from straightforward; views concerning the dialect have naturally been bound up with views about the history of the area, which has been much discussed.²⁰ Boeotian is classified genetically with Thessalian and Lesbian under the term 'Aeolic', but (like western Thessalian) has affinities with North-West Greek.²¹ These include (1) -τι in verbal endings and (ϕ)ίκατι ('2ο') etc., (2) τοί/ταί (Attic οἱ/αἱ), (3) modal particle κα, (4) ἰαρός.

Features that Boeotian has in common with the Aeolic dialects include (5) labial treatment of the IE labiovelars in πέτταρες etc., (6) ρο = ρα from *r, (7) perfect participle in -ων, -οντος, (8) ἴα = μῆα,

¹⁷ On whose language see e.g. Edwards (1971) and Forssman (1966).

¹⁸ D. L. Page (1953: 84) is hesitant; M. L. West (1970) argues for the later date. See also Segal (1975).

¹⁹ D. L. Page (1953: 65).

²⁰ See Porzig (1954), (1960: 945 f.), Risch (1955), Chadwick (1956), R.J. Buck (1968), Garcia-Ramon (1975), R. Schmitt (1977: 68 f.).

²¹ Cf. R. Schmitt (1977: 69), 'Zwei Dialekte sind im Boiotischen also derart übereinandergelagert, daß es zu Recht als ein aiolisch- westgriechischer Mischdialekt angesprochen werden darf.'

(9) athematic dat. plur. in $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$, (10) thematic and athematic infinitives have the same ending $-\mu\epsilon\nu$.

Other features which characterize (but are not exclusive to) Boeotian are (11) secondary long e written as $\epsilon\iota$ and secondary long o as ω , (12) $\tau\tau$ for $\sigma\sigma$ in common with Attic (most other dialects have $\sigma\sigma$ with Ionic), (13) $\delta-$, $\delta\delta$ where Attic has ζ , (14) initial and intervocalic f generally preserved, (15) dat. sing. (loc.?) $-\sigma\iota$ and $-\alpha\iota$.

Features which are peculiar to Boeotian include (16) extension of the stem of $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ to all core forms, (17) $\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota = \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, (18) the vowel system.

4.0.4.3. The vowel system

The peculiarities of the Boeotian vowel-system are a major difficulty.²² Boeotian inscriptions present spellings which were clearly trying to keep pace with the rapid changes in the vowel-system. These changes appear to anticipate the development of vowels in the rest of Greek (more specifically, in the *koine*). Major changes in the spelling system started with the introduction of the Ionic alphabet at the beginning of the fourth century,²³ and continued for two centuries.

4.0.4.3.1. The closing of e -vowels

Spelling innovations (both before and after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet in Boeotia) indicate that e -vowels were moving towards a more closed pronunciation (this seems to have been underway by the early fifth century in some cases):

(i) Inherited [e:] (Attic η) was commonly written $\epsilon\iota$ from the early fourth century (in one instance it is written ι , cf. §4.1.2.3). As in Attic, the use of the 'spurious diphthong' indicates a close pronunciation [e:]. See further Blümel §§36, 39; Thumb-Sch. §236.5.

(ii) Secondary long e (from contraction, etc.: Attic $\epsilon\iota$, the 'spurious diphthong') is written $\epsilon\iota$ from the early fourth century, indicating a close pronunciation [e:]. See further Blümel §§36, 39; Thumb-Sch. §236.5.

(iii) In the fifth century the inherited diphthong [ei] was

²² Cf. Ruipérez (1956), Bartoněk (1962).

²³ See Roesch and Taillardat (1966: 78-87).

written $\epsilon\iota$ and ι , the former probably representing [e:] and the latter indicating an early movement towards [i:]; and also with the special sign $\vdash$ (i.e. a half eta). This sign presumably denotes a close e which is not yet identical with [i:]. In the fourth century ι is regularly used. See further Blümel §74, Thumb-Sch. §236.8a.

(iv) ϵ is written $\epsilon\iota$, $\vdash$, and ι before a vowel; this has generally been taken to indicate that it had a close, raised quality.²⁴ See further Blümel §41, Thumb-Sch. §236.2.

4.0.4.3.2. The monophthongization of diphthongs other than [ei]

(i) In the fifth century $a\epsilon$ is sometimes found in place of $a\iota$, indicating that the movement towards monophthongization had begun. With the use of the Ionic alphabet η is found in place of $a\iota$, indicating a development to [ɛ:]; there are sporadic instances of η even before the general adoption of the Ionic alphabet. See further Blümel §77, Thumb-Sch. §236.8b.

(ii) In a development parallel to the preceding, $o\epsilon$ is found in place of $o\iota$ from the fifth century; in the third century υ is written, indicating that the diphthong had been monophthongized to [y:]. See further Blümel §76, Thumb-Sch. §236.8c.

(iii) ou is found in place of υ from the fourth century. This indicates that the diphthong [ow], having been monophthongized to [u:], fell together with the inherited [u:]; and that inherited [u]/[u:] remained a close back vowel, and was thus distinguished from the new vowel [y:] < [oi]. See further Blümel §75, Thumb-Sch. §236.7.

4.1. PHONOLOGY: VOWELS

4.1.1. *Vowels Corresponding to Attic [a:]/ā*

4.1.1.1. Laconian, Megarian, Boeotian [a:]/ā = Attic [a:]/ā

Long α was no doubt perceived as a rarer phenomenon in Attic-Ionic than in the other dialects, owing to the characteristic shift to η ; there will have been no motivation, therefore, to change it.

²⁴ But see Méndez Dosuna (1993*d*), who argues that the sign $\vdash$ always represents a long vowel (long close e); and that these three writings denote synizesis rather than vowel-raising.

Three diachronic categories need to be considered: (i) words where inherited [a:]/ $\bar{a}$ was preserved in Attic after [e], [i], [r]; (ii) words where [a:]/ $\bar{a}$ in Attic is the result of compensatory lengthening or contraction after the the sound-change $\bar{a} > \eta$ had ceased to be operative (e.g. $\tau\mu\bar{a}\varsigma < * \tau\mu\alpha\nu\varsigma$, acc. pl.); (iii) miscellaneous other words where Attic has $\bar{a}$.

Laconian

(i) [a:]/ $\bar{a}$ preserved in Attic after [e], [i], [r]

a-stem: (nom.) 86 *Βοιωτία*; 91 *Κορινθία*; 1266 (lyr.) *φιλία*; 90 *χαΐα*; (voc.) 1262 (lyr.) *ἀγροτέρα*; 1263 (lyr.) *σιά*; (acc.) 1248 (lyr.) *τεάν*; 1157 *χαίωτέραν*; (gen.) 1000 *μῆας*.

(ii) Compensatory lengthening and contraction

995 *πάα* (< **πανσα*); (*a*-stem acc. pl.); 143 *μόνας*; 1006, 1264 (lyr.) *σπονδάς*; 1257 (lyr.), 1264 (lyr.) *τὰς*; 1300 (lyr.) *Τυνδαρίδας*.
crasis: 999 *τᾶλλαι*, 1243 *κάείω*.

(iii) Other words

106 *πορπακισάμενος*. See Björck (1950: 296), and cf. 4.4.45.

170 *ρύαχeton*. See Björck (1950: 285).

117, 1296 (lyr.) *Ταῦγeton*. It is not clear why this is *Τηῦγetos* in Ionic (e.g. *Od.* 6. 103, Herodotus) but not in Attic. As a place-name it may have been reborrowed after the sound change had ceased to be operative; or perhaps Attic did not insist on imposing its own phonology on foreign names.

Megarian

(i) [a:]/ $\bar{a}$ preserved in Attic after [e], [i], [r]

743 *ἄπρατα*; 734–5 *πεπρᾶσθαι*: the various forms of the verb 'sell' are built on the root **pr(H₂)*. [a:] of the middle perfect would come from the zero grade.

a-stem (nom.) 729 *ἀγορά*; 786 *νέα*; 790 *όμοματρία*; (acc.) 787 *κήρυθράν*; 737 *ζαμίαν*; 737 *φανεράν*; (gen.) 770 *ἀπιστίας*.

(ii) Compensatory lengthening and contraction

809 *πάσας* (< **πανσα-*); 739 *σκευάσας*; (*a*-stem acc. pl.) 764 *μυστικὰς*; 740 *όπλὰς*; 809 *πάσας*; 740 (× 2), 763, 809 *τὰς*; 776 *φθεγγομένας*.

crasis: 821 *ἀρχά* (*ἀρχά* MSS); 791 *κἀναχνοιανθῆ*; 834 *κᾶνις*.

(iii) Other words

741 *ἀεί* (4.4.1)

732, 835 *μάδδαν* MSS (edd. *μάδδαν*): Attic *μάζα*. The long *a* in

Attic is unexpected. It may be that in Attic ζ from *gy lengthened a preceding vowel; see Björck (1950: 44) and Leumann (1948: §IV). Latin *massa* implies μάζα (Lat. -ss- becomes -s- after a long vowel). The playwright may have intended a short vowel here. For the accent see 4.1.20 below. 763 πάσσακι. Perhaps a Doric gloss (4.4.40). For the long *a* see Björck (1950: 260).

Boeotian

- (i) [a:]/ $\bar{a}$ preserved in Attic after [e], [i], [r]
 a -stem: (voc.) 861 Ἰσμηνία; (gen.) 907 ἀλιτρίας.
- (ii) Compensatory lengthening and contraction
 861 ἀτρέμας; (a -stem acc. pl.) 875 νάσσας; 902 ἀφύας.
 crasis: 869 τᾶνθεια, 906 μέντᾶν (but cf. 4.4.24).
- (iii) Other words
 875 ἀτταγᾶς: see Björck (1950: 63, 272) and Petersen (1937) for the suffix in -ᾶς.
 880 Κωπαῖδας, 883 Κωπάδων (place-name derivative; for the variation $a\ddot{i} \sim q$ see 4.1.7).

4.1.1.2. Laconian, Megarian, Boeotian [ε:] / η = Attic [a:] / $\bar{a}$

This is the reverse of the most well-known difference between Attic-Ionic and the other dialects, viz. the shift of long *a* in Attic-Ionic towards η. It occurs (i) as a result of contraction, most often in verbal inflection where an *a* of the stem is followed by an ε; and (ii) in crasis (where Attic $\bar{a}$ is the result of $ai + \epsilon$).

Laconian

- (i) [a]/ $a + [e]/\epsilon$ in contraction give [ε:] / η: e.g. (epigraphic) *χορηγ IG v/1. 255. 4* (Schw. 16), Laconia, early 4th c.; *ἐνικῆ IG v/1. 213. 13* (Schw. 12), Laconia, 5/4th c.; (literary) *ποτήσθω*, Alcman (Pap., *PMG* 1. 16); *ἐφοίτη* Theocr. 2. 155. (But Pindar has $\bar{a}$; *νικᾶν I. 3/4. 25*, etc.) See further Thumb-K. §§79.3, 92.5; Buck §41.

171 πλαδδινῇ (infin.); 990 πλαδδίη (imper.); 1077 ὀρήν (infin.); 1316 (lyr.) πάδη (imper.).

Doubtful

1303 (lyr.) ἔμβη (imper.) R, ἔμβα Bp; cf. *Frogs* 377 ἀλλ' ἔμβα, *Ach.* 262 πρόβα, *Wasps* 979 κατᾶβα, but ἄμβατε (ἀμβάτε MSS)

Ach. 732 (Megarian). The regular aorist imperative is $\beta\eta\theta\iota$. The shorter form is confined to compounds; it is found only in poetry (including Homer), but its presence in comic trimeters suggests that it was current in Attic, perhaps in certain fixed idioms. The morphology is not clear: if it were a simple verbal stem with long vowel, this would give η in Attic, and $\bar{a}$ in West Greek; cf. perhaps such literary Doric forms as $\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\tau\alpha$ (Theocr. 24. 36). Chantraine (1967: §315) suggests that the $-\beta\alpha$ forms were created by the addition of the thematic vowel to a short stem (cf. $\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\iota$, $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon$). It is possible that this process (which may be post-Homeric, Chantraine 1948: §222) also occurred in Laconian.

All the instances of η are in inflectional endings of verbs; this information from the morphological level must be significant. Since Attic was no doubt thought to be more abundant in η than Doric, one would not on the whole expect Laconian alphas to be replaced by hyper-Doric etas.

Megarian

(i) $[a]/a + [e]/\epsilon$ in contraction give $[\epsilon:]$ / η : e.g. (epigraphic) $\delta\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$ δ *Μεγαρεων τιμη τους αγαθον τι πρασσοντας* *IG* vii. 1. 16 (Schw. 154), Meg., late 4th c.; *τιμετο* *Arena* 72, Sel., 475–450.

778 *σινγῆς* ($-\alpha\varsigma$ E); 800 *ἐρώτη* ($\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha$ R): 2nd sing. imper.; 834 *πειρήσθε* (*πειρασθε* R).

Doubtful/Bad Dialect

731 *ἀθλίον*: West Greek inscriptions and literary Doric present the stem $\acute{\alpha}(\epsilon)\theta\lambda-$. The adj. in the sense ‘wretched’ is attested only in the contracted form (the context indicates paratragedy).

(ii) Crasis: 745 *κῆππειτεν* (*κᾶπειτ* R), 787 *κῆρρυθράν*, 790 *κῆκ*.

Boeotian

(ii) Crasis: if $[a] + [e]$ had given $[\epsilon:]$ in early Boeotian, this would later have been closed to $[\epsilon:]$ and written $\epsilon\iota$ (4.1.2.3). But in contemporary Boeotian, where $\alpha\iota$ in *καί* may have been pronounced similarly to Attic η , the crasis of this with following ϵ - could have sounded like *κη-* to Athenian ears. The problem with this is that the Aristophanic text does not elsewhere give any sign that Boeotian $\alpha\iota$ sounded like Attic η (4.1.8.2).

Corinna (*PMG* 654 iii 24) has *κᾶσσονθη* (= *καὶ ἔσσονται*), which is

unexpected if *καί* was *κή* at the time she was writing; it may be corrupt (D. L. Page 1953: 58), or a literary form (see M. L. West 1970: 285, V. Schmidt 1968: 20 ff.).

884 *κήπιχάριτται*. If *η* is not genuine Boeotian, we might conjecture that Aristophanes put a North-West Greek form into the speaker's mouth. In North-West Greek (as in other West Greek dialects) [a(i)] + [e] > [ɛ:]: e.g. Delph. *συλην, συλητω, κέν, κέπι*: Thumb-K. §193.5 (and cf. Thessalian crasis *κέν, τές*: Schw. 557/Buck 35, 5th c.).

4.1.1.3. Boeotian [ɛ:]/*ει* = Attic [a:]/*ᾱ*

The result of the *α* + *ε* combination is unclear in Boeotian; epigraphic sources suggest an *e*-vowel. Buck (§41) says that *η* is the result of *α* + *ε* in Boeotian, as in West Greek, but the only evidence he cites is the Aristophanic form in question (quoted as *φυσήτε*). There is epigraphic evidence for *ει* as the result of *α* + *ε*: *σουλειμεν* BCH 19, 157 no. II,7 (2nd c.). But Blümel (1982: §191) quotes *ιαετω* (SEG 22. 407. 21, 3rd c.), an uncontracted 3 sg. imper., and comes down against the dialectal authenticity of the contracted forms. Hock (1972: 190–6) argues that the uncontracted forms are common archaisms, found in the 'southern, mountainous, less accessible fringe of Boeotia' (i.e. Plataea, Thisbe, Tanagra).

863 *φυσεῖτε* R (-ῆτε cett., Sud. s. *ὀστίνους*; -ᾱτε Sud. s. *πρωκτός*) = Attic *φυσάτε* (uncontracted *φυσάετε* is not excluded by the metre). For *αι* + *ε* in crasis in *κήπιχάριτται* see 4.1.1.2 above.

4.1.1.4. Laconian and Megarian [ɔ:]/*ω* = Attic [a:]/*ᾱ*

This equivalence is restricted to crasis of the article with a following noun, where in Attic [o]/*ο* + [a]/*α* give [a:]/*ᾱ*; it is not found in contraction.²⁵ In other dialects, including Ionic, the result of the crasis of an *ο*-vowel with a following *α* is regularly

²⁵ The results of contraction and crasis are generally different in Attic. This is due to what Buck (§94) and others have called the 'etymology principle' in crasis, whereby the vowel-merger is subject to a desire to keep the vowel in the more important word recognizable (thus *ἀνὴρ* rather than *ὦνῆρ* from *ὦ* + *ἀνῆρ*). Outside Attic, however, the 'phonetic' principle usually applies, with the results the same as in contraction.

[ɔː]/ω; cf. (epigraphic): Arcadian τὸρρεντερον *IG* v/2. 262. 21 (Schw. 661), 5th c. [ɔː] in crasis is also found in literary Doric, e.g. ὤτερος (= ὁ ἄτερος) Theocr. 7. 36, τῶργείου Pind. *I.* 2. 9. See further Buck §§44, 94.

Laconian

174 τῶβυσσον; 1260 τῶνδρες (= Attic ἄνδρες).

Doubtful

174 τὰργύριον MSS (τῶργύριον edd.).

240 ἁ ὀλολυγά MSS; editors since Dindorf have printed ὠλολυγά.

989 ἄνθρωπος MSS; accepted by Wilamowitz, Henderson. Some editors (e.g. Coulon, Sommerstein) print ὦνθρωπος.

1099 ἀμέες ἄνδρες R (ἀμέ τῶνδρες edd.: for ἀμέ see 4.2.2.2.2 below).

Given the presence of comparable forms in the text, the editorial corrections in 174, 240, and 1099 seem certain.

Megarian

One would expect [oː]/ou + [au]/av in crasis to give [ɔːu]/ων, since (outside Attic) [o]/o + [a]/av give [ɔːu]/ων: e.g. *hoûτορεκτας* (= ὁ αὐτο(ρ)ρέκτας) Jameson *et al.* (1983), B9 (Sel., 5th c.); and cf. *τωῦτ' ἐπὶ χρέος* Pind. *Ol.* 1. 45 (= τὸ αὐτό).

790 τῶντοῦ (ταντοῦ Tr.): Attic ταῦτοῦ < τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Doubtful

817 ἐμαντοῦ (ἐμωντῶ cj. Meineke, so Coulon). See 4.2.2.1.4.

Coulon prints 755 τῶνδρες (Σ^R and cl. *Lys.* 1099) in place of ἄνδρες, which is no doubt right phonologically if the article is needed here. (Coulon wrongly gives Σ^R *Lys.* 1099 τῶνδρες.)

4.1.2. Vowels Corresponding to Attic [ɛː]/η

4.1.2.1. Laconian, Megarian, Boeotian [aː]/ā = Attic [ɛː]/η

This is the most obvious distinction between Attic-Ionic and the other dialects. [aː]/ā in place of Attic [ɛː]/η is attested in all Doric and Aeolic literature, and is the commonest marker of literary Doric in Attic texts, occurring in the choral lyric of tragedy and occasionally in choral sections of comedy (see Björck 1950). In Attic inherited [aː] > open [ɛː]/η (except after [e], [i], [r], for which

see 4.1.1.1 above).²⁶ The same change (without the exceptions) took place in Ionic.

Selected examples of the numerous instances of the correct application of $\bar{a}$ are given below, from a range of morpho-semantic categories.

Laconian

Inherited [a:] (epigraphic) e.g. *Αἰνηιδας ἀνεσηκε γεροντευων ται Ασαναται* SEG 9. 654, Laconia, 4th c.; and *passim*.

(a) nominal inflection (*a*-stem): e.g. 1254 (lyr.) *Λεωνιδας*; 991 *σκυτάλα*; 1299 (lyr.) *Ἀσάναν*; 118, 169, 1081 *εἰράναν*; 156 *γυμνάς*.

(b) the article.

(c) other items: e.g. 206 *ἀδύ*; 106 *ἔβα*; 983 *κάρυξ* (*κῆρυξ* R).

Bad dialect

1257 (lyr.) *ῥνσει* MSS (*ῥνσειν* Wilamowitz; *ἄνση* Sommerstein; *ἄνσειν* Henderson).

The manuscript tradition is coherent; we find $\bar{a}$ where we would expect to find it in a non-Attic-Ionic dialect, with two exceptions only. These are matched by a few instances of $\bar{a}$ for η in Attic speech (e.g. 94 *ᾶδ*’, in the middle of a split line of Laconian speech). At no stage in the tradition, so far as we can tell, has a mechanical rule of the type ‘replace all cases of Attic η with $\bar{a}$ ’ operated. There is no perceptible variation in the playwright’s use of this marker between the different lexical categories (e.g. Laconian and Attic substantives, the article, etc.).

It is difficult to establish how Ar. could have known in which cases the substitution was appropriate if one assumes that there was no difference in the Attic pronunciation of η from $*\bar{e}$ and η from $*\bar{a}$. R. W. Tucker (1962, followed by Sihler 1995: §54) argued that inherited [a:] and [ɛ:] were not completely merged in Attic until the end of the fifth century,²⁷ which would explain Doric $\bar{a}$ in the playwrights; but Tucker’s view is disputed on graphemic grounds by Threatte (1969) and Teodorsson (1973). See 4.2.4.4 below for a possible example of ‘hyper-Doric’ [a:] in *οὔπα*.

²⁶ The date at which a complete merger of inherited [a:] and [ɛ:] was achieved in Attic is unclear; the change did not progress uniformly among the dialects of Attic-Ionic (see Bartoněk 1966: 99 ff.).

²⁷ The distinction between the two vowels is attested in the 5th c. in Cycladic Ionic; see López-Eire (1970: 18) and Arena (1968: 3 ff.).

Megarian

Inherited [a:]: (epigraphic) e.g. *Ἀθαναίας : ἰαρά : τας Μηγαροί* SEG 13.306, 5th c.; and *passim*.

(a) nominal inflection (*a*-stem): e.g. 821 *ἀρχά*; 816 *Ἐρμᾶ* (Pap.; *Ἐρμῇ* Tr., *Ἐρμ* cett.); 787 *μεγάλαν*; 741 *ἀγαθᾶς*.

(b) the article.

(c) other items: e.g. 773 *Ἑλλάνων*; 754 *ἐνεπορευόμεαν*; 748 *καρυξῶ*; 736 *φαμι* (*φημι* A, Tr.).

Bad dialect

755 *τῇ* MSS (*τᾷ* edd.).

Doubtful

732 *ἄμβατε*. Compare Lac. *ἔμβη* (4.1.1.2): Aesch. *Suppl.* 191 (trimeters) has *βᾶτε*.

738 *μηχανά* cett. (*μαχανά* A, Tr.; edd.): the Attic form is *μηχανή*. Note, however, that *μηχανά* is often found in literary Doric passages of tragedy. Cf. Jebb on *Ajax* 181, 'This [i.e. *μαχαναῖς*] seems to be the only instance in Tragedy (except Aesch. *Theb.* 132 *μαχανᾶ*) where the Doric form of a word from the st. *μηχαν* has good support from our MSS. But this fact does not warrant G. Wolff's view that the form in *η* was alone used by the tragic dramatists.'

See under Laconian above for general remarks. If 738 *μηχανά* is the original reading it may be evidence that Aristophanes used a form of the word he was used to hearing in literary (tragic) Doric. For *θάσθε* (770) see 4.4.19.

Boeotian

Inherited [a:]: (epigraphic) e.g. *ἀνεθειαν ταε Δαματρι* IG vii. 1671 (Schw. 475) Plataea, 6/5th c.; and *passim*. Corinna has *ā* (e.g. *ψᾶφον* PMG 654 i 20). It is interesting that Pindar is more consistent in his use of this feature than Bacchylides and Simonides (native speakers of Ionic).

(a) nominal inflection (*a*-stem): 895 *τιμά*; 907 *πολλᾶς*.

(b) the article.

(c) other items: 900 *Ἀθάναις* (*Ἀθήναις* R); 884 *ἔκβαθι*; 875 *νάσσας*.

Bad dialect

913 *ἦρω* (*vel sim.* RΓ² E² j, Pap.; *ἦρα a*): 2 sg. aor. mid. *αἶρω* (Attic form *ἦρω* < *ἦραο* < **āfer-σα-σο*): 4.1.4.1.

See under Laconian above for general remarks.

4.1.2.2. Laconian and Megarian [ɛ:]/η = Attic [ɛ:]/η

This equivalence can usefully be compared with the preceding; we should not in principle be surprised to find instances of the 'hyper-Doric' replacement of η by $\bar{a}$. Two diachronic categories need to be considered: (i) inherited long *e*, which was continued as [ɛ:]/η; (ii) [ɛ:]/η which is the result of contraction.

Laconian

(i) inherited [ɛ:]/η: (epigraphic) e.g. ἀνεθεκε IG v/1. 213. 2 (Schw. 12), Laconia, 5/4th c.; ἀνεσηκε IG v/1. 255 (Schw. 16), Laconia, 4th c.

(a) verbal endings: 1265 (lyr.) συνέχης; 105 ἔλση; 1314 (lyr.) ἀγῆται; 1266 (lyr.) εἴη.

(b) other items: 1001 ἀπῆλαάν; 1301 (lyr.) δῆ; 1315 (lyr.) εὐπρεπής; 981 ῆ; 174 ῆ; 1260 (lyr.) ῆν; 1314 (lyr.) Ἀήδας; 1163 λῆ; 95, 1188 λῆς; 1105 λῆτε; 171, 990 μῆ; 1262 (lyr.) σηροκτόνε; 1268 (lyr.) συνθήκαισι; 173 τριήρεες; 1242 φυάτήρια; 1319 χορωφελήταν (edd., χορωφέλεταν MSS).

(ii) contraction

Doubtful

1076 ἔπη (for the morphology see 4.2.1.4 below)

The Laconian vowel clearly occupied a different place in the system from Attic [ɛ:]/η, since Lac. does not seem to have had a contrast between open [ɛ:] and close [e:], but the Athenians must have felt the two vowels to be comparable on phonetic grounds. There are no examples of hyper-Doric $\bar{a}$.

Megarian

(i) inherited [ɛ:]/η: (epigraphic) e.g. Ἐριμνος ἀνεθηκεν SEG 31.383, Meg., c.400–350. κέπειτα Jameson *et al.* (1983) A13 (Sel., 5th c.).

(a) verbal endings: 732 εὔρητε, 762 εἰσβάλητε, 783 εἰκασθήσεται, 791 παχυνθῆ, 791 κάναχνοιανθῆ.

(b) other items: 733, 753, 777, 815 δῆ; 734 ῆ; 749, 769, 776 ῆ; 747 χῆσεῖτε; 749, 766, 772, 776, 788, 814 λῆς; 773 μῆ; 747 μυστηρικῶν; 731 πόνηρα; 754 τηνῶθεν; 734 χρῆδδερ; 778 χρῆσθα (4.4.60).

(ii) contraction

Doubtful

734 *πεινῆν*: the Attic form (*Clouds* 441). In general contract *a*-verbs in Attic have an infin. in *-ân* (e.g. *τιμᾶν* < *τιμᾶ-*); *πεινῆν* is formed as though from a stem in a long vowel *πεινᾶ-*. There is evidence that West Greek as well as Attic had an intrusive long *a* in this word (cf. 4.1.4.2): the short vowel in the present (*πεινᾶ-*) may have been replaced analogically by a long vowel from other tenses. The Megarian infin. of a verb in *πεινᾶ-* would have been *πεινᾶν*.

There are no examples of hyper-Doric *ā*.

4.1.2.3. Boeotian [e:] / *ει* = Attic [ɛ:] / *η*

It is not clear whether the sound [ɛ:] (written *η* in Attic) existed in Boeotian at the time; later on we find [ɛ:] / *η* from [ai] / *αι*. In Boeotian inscriptions both inherited and secondary long *e* were written *ει* after the introduction of the Ionic alphabet around 400. That the closing of inherited [ɛ:] (Attic *η*) started at an early date is indicated by an isolated early spelling of the vowel with the sign *ι* in the name *Ἀγῆ-μονδας* (*IG* vii. 2456. 2, c. 500). The sign was normally used to denote a close vowel [e:]. See further Blümel §§36, 74; Thumb-Sch. §236.5.

Inherited *ē* > [e:] / *ει* (epigraphic) e.g. *πεντακατιως στατειρα*[s *IG* vii. 2418. 21 (Schw. 467), Thebes, mid 4th c.; (literary) the spelling *ει* in place of Attic *η* is regular in the Corinna papyrus: e.g. *PMG* 654 ii 13 *Δεὺς πατεῖ*[ρ.

862 *Θείβαθεν* (ac, Ald.; *Θήβαθεν* R, Tr.); 868 *Θείβαθι* (Rac, Ald.; *Θήβαθι* E¹, Tr.): *Θείβαθε* cj. Elmsley; 911 *Θείβαθεν* (Ra, Ald.; *Θήβαθεν* E¹j): *Θείβαθε* cj. Dover (4.1.19 below); 867 *νεί* (AG^{E2}; *νή* cett.); 905 *νεί* (AG¹, νι pap., *νή* cett.).

Doubtful/Bad dialect

(i) inherited [e:]

862 *αὐληταί*; 895 *γενήσεται*; 871, 902 *ῆ*; 860 *Ἡρακλῆς*; 861 *Ἰσμηνία*, 954 *Ἰσμήνιχε*; 900, 903 *μή*; 883 *πεντήκοντα*.

(ii) merger of two vowels

884 crasis *αι* + *ε*: *κῆπιχάριτται* (*κῆπι-* Tr.), aor. mid. imper. of *ἐπιχαρίζομαι* (4.4.6). This is not in any case the Attic form,

which would be $\kappa\alpha\pi\iota$ -. For discussion of the combination $a + \epsilon$ see 4.1.1.2-3 above.

913 ἦρω (ἦρ- R) < * $\bar{a}\epsilon\rho$ - σa - σo (4.2.6.6)

Other forms

860 Ἡρακλῆς

In the first syllable the vowel is always <H> in Boeotian inscriptions, and may have been borrowed from other dialects, perhaps under the influence of epic poetry. For a different view see Knoepfler (1974b).²⁸

Clearly the tradition is not in this case coherent. The MSS vary between the two spellings: of the sixteen relevant forms in the text, there are five cases where $\epsilon\iota$ for η is attested in the MSS, and eleven where there is no such evidence. We should consider whether any principles can be detected underlying the discrepancy in the forms presented by the MSS. For example, of the seven cases for which $\epsilon\iota$ is attested:

(i) Three are forms of the word for Thebes. This is an obvious word in which to imitate Theban dialect. (Likewise, speakers of southern UK English know how to say the word Newcastle with a Northern accent,²⁹ even if they cannot continue with a lengthy imitation of the Newcastle dialect.)

(ii) Two occur in set phrases (oaths): $\nu\epsilon\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu$, $\nu\epsilon\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \sigma\iota\acute{o}\nu$. Oaths and similar interjections seem to have been regarded as convenient opportunities to 'mark' dialects; all dialect-speakers in Aristophanes use them, and cf. Plato, *Phaed.* 62 A, where the Boeotian Cebes is given the exclamation: $\tau\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\ \text{Ζεύς}, \epsilon\phi\eta, \tau\acute{\eta}\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \phi\omega\nu\eta\ \epsilon\iota\pi\acute{o}\nu$. . .

(iii) The remaining two cases cannot be justified on semantic grounds, but are exceptional because the $\epsilon\iota$ they contain does not correspond to an Attic η : 863 $\phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ = Attic $\phi\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon$; 914 $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ = Attic $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\acute{o}\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (4.2.6.8).

However, the words for which there is no MS evidence for $\epsilon\iota$ are not so easily explained away:

(i) 860 Ἡρακλῆς: one might expect a Boeotian vowel here in the final syllable, first because the name occurs in a set phrase/oath

²⁸ Knoepfler argues (p. 244) that <H> 'pouvait noter aussi l'aspiration suivie de la voyelle e, qu'elle fût longue ou brève'. In this case the quality of the vowel would be closed.

²⁹ i.e. with the <a> pronounced [æ] instead of [a:].

(the first words the Theban utters) which seems to have been common in Boeotian, and secondly because Heracles was especially associated with Thebes, the place of his birth. On the other hand, Heracles was an extremely common deity in both literature and cult in Attica.

(ii) 861 Ἰσμηνία, 954 Ἰσμήνιχε: a Boeotian vowel might be appropriate in such a typical Theban name, derived from the river Ismenus which flowed through Thebes. Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 697 ἦ τε Θηβαία φίλη παῖς εὐγενὴς Ἰσμηνία. However, the name was familiar to Attic-speakers.

(iii) ἀλληταί, γενήσεται, ἦ, μή, πεντήκοντα.

It could be argued that these are everyday Attic words, and that consequently (a) Aristophanes might not have marked them for Theban dialect, or (b) if Aristophanes was consistent in his use of *ει*, later scribes might have felt happier in Atticizing these familiar forms.³⁰ The substitution of *ει* for *η* is alien to Doric dialect, which was no doubt more familiar to scribes and scholars than Boeotian; this may explain why this feature is less regularly transmitted than other dialect vowels in *Ach.* The fact that the text of the Boeotian speaker is also marked with *ω* for *ου* may have added to the confusion. It is more likely, however, that a few key words were selected by Aristophanes for marking with the Boeotian vowel, and others were left with Attic *η*. The digraph *ει* for [e:] is an Attic spelling device (3.1.5.1).

4.1.3. Vowels Corresponding to Attic [e:]/*ει*

Attic stands closer to Megarian and Boeotian with regard to this digraph and the sound it represents, probably for areal reasons.

4.1.3.1. Laconian, Megarian, Boeotian *ει* = Attic [e:]/*ει*

Two diachronic categories can be distinguished: (i) the inherited diphthong *ei*, which was written *ει* in all three dialects; (ii) secondary long *e* (from contraction and compensatory lengthening), which in some dialects (typically 'severe' Doric) merged with

³⁰ Coulon prints Ἡρακλῆς 860, Ἰσμενία 861, ἀλληταί 862, γενήσεται 895, εἰ 902, μεῖσι 903, Ἰσμενίχε 954. This is imprudent, since *ει* in Θεῖβαθεν does not guarantee its presence in e.g. μή. Place-names and oaths are linguistic areas where superficial and stereotypical dialect markers are especially likely to occur.

inherited [ɛ:] / η, and in others was maintained as a long close vowel [e:]. In Attic the inherited diphthong *ei* was written *ει* (3.1.1). However, its pronunciation grew near to that of secondary long *e* (a long close vowel), and the two sounds probably merged during the fifth century.

Laconian

(i) As in Attic, the inherited diphthong was written *ει*. It is uncertain what the exact pronunciation would have been; perhaps a diphthong. See e.g. (epigraphic) *ηελει IG v/1. 213. 13* (Schw. 12), Laconia, 5/4th c.; *ἀει IG xiv. 645. i. 100* (Schw. 62), Heracleia, late 4th c.

(a) verbal endings (2 and 3 sing.): 87 *ἵκει*; 144, 996, 1076 (*δῆ R*) *δεῖ*; 180, 1013 *λέγεις*; 206 *ποτόδδαι*; 1080 *σέλει*.

(b) other items: 1243 *καέϊώ* (van Leeuwen; *καέϊσω Sud.*, *καῖσω R*, *καὶ κινήσω Bp*); 1244 *χᾶμ' αἰσῖμ'* (Meineke; *καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Bp*, *καὶ ἡμᾶς RSud.*); 1098 *δαινά*; 1303, 1304 *εῖα*; 1266 *εῖη*; 999 *ἔπειτα*; 118, 144, 169, 1081 *εἰράναν* (but cf. 4.4.14); 84 *ἰαρεῖον*; 168 *πέισομες*, 171 *ἀμπεῖσειεν*; 1242, 1198 *πολυχαρεῖδα* (Meineke; *-χαρίδα MSS*); 1252 *σιείκελοι* (*θείκελοι MSS*); 1311 *σεῖονται*.

Doubtful

1099 *ἔδον R*; *εἶδον / ἔιδον* edd. (cf. 4.1.19).

It is possible that actors would have made their pronunciation of this sound closer to a real diphthong; if the playwright wished to signal this intention, he had no means of doing so.

(ii) Secondary long *e* merged with inherited long [ɛ:] / η (4.1.3.2).

Megarian

(i) Inherited **ei* > [ɛ:] / *ει*:

(a) verbal endings: 775 *δοκεῖς*; 787 *ἐξεῖ*; 820 *ἵκει*

(b) other items: 751, 761 *αῖ*; 770 *δαινά*; 783 *εἰκασθήσεται*; 745 *κῆππειτεν*; 766 *παχεῖα*, 787 *παχεῖαν*; 798 *Ποτειδᾶ*.

(ii) Secondary long *e* (in early inscriptions written ⟨E⟩, as in Attic): e.g. (epigraphic) *ἐπιμελεισθαι IG vii. 1. 8* (Schw. 154), Meg., late 4th c.

(a) 'Doric' futures (4.2.6.4): 741 *δοξεῖτ'*; 746 *γρυλιξεῖτε* (guaranteed); 747 *χῆσεῖτε* (guaranteed); 742 *ἰξεῖτ'*; 743 *πειρασεῖσθε*.

(b) other forms: 810 *ἀνελόμαν* (*ἀνελ- R*); 766 *ἄντεινον*; 775 *εἴμεναι*; 745 *εῖς* (*R*); *εῖς cett.*; 745, 762 *εἰς-* edd. (*εῖς- MSS*); 820 *ἐκεῖν'* (but

cf. 4.2.3.2.2); 792 θύειν; 835 παλείν; 734 πεινῆν, 751 διαπεινᾶμες (? or orig. diphthong, etym. uncertain); 743 πειρασεῖσθε; 834 πειρησθε; 739 φέρειν; 777 φώνει (2 sg. imper.).

Doubtful

788 τράφειν Ra (τράφειν edd.)

Bad dialect

741, 771 ἦμεν MSS (εἶμεν edd.)

Of the forms under consideration most have the expected Megarian *ει*. Two cases of ἦμεν show a 'hyper-Doric' *η*, which, though a marker of many West Greek dialects, does not occur in Megarian. τράφειν is anomalous, and may be due to an early corruption of αἰ τράφειν to ἔτραφειν.³¹

Boeotian

(i) Inherited *ei* > [e:] / *ει*: 902 ἐκεῖ (but cf. 4.2.3.2).

Doubtful

870 βούλει (< -ηι < -εαι): but it is not clear whether the ending would have been subject to contraction: cf. ξυλλεῖο (Ducat 1971: 252.1, Ptoion, 5th c.), 2 sg. mid. imper.

880 ἐγγέλεις MSS (ἐγγέλεις edd., 4.2.1.3); 870 εἶ (4.4.2).

(ii) Secondary long *e*: 947 θερίδδεν (4.2.6.2); 883 πρέσβειρα.

For the early closure of Boeotian vowels see 4.0.4.3 above.

4.1.3.2. Laconian [ε:] / *η* = Attic [e:] / *ει*

In Laconian secondary long *e* merged with the inherited long vowel, as in other southern Peloponnesian dialects (e.g. Arcadian, Elean). ⟨*H*⟩ is used in inscriptions for secondary [e:] after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet: e.g. (epigraphic) ἦμεν Heracleia, IG xiv. 645. i. 75 (Schw. 62), 4th c.: (literary) Alcman ἀνδάνην (Pap., PMG 1.88); Thuc. 5. 77. 8 has ἀπιάλλην. See further Thumb-K. §92.3.

(a) contraction [e] / *ε* + [e] / *ει*: 1174 κοπραγωγῆν; 1076 μυσίδδην; 1319 ποίη (2 sg. imper.); 1004 σιγῆν R (Invernizi; θιγῆν R, σίγειν Γ).

Bad dialect

169 ἄγειν MSS; 1258 (lyr.) ἦνσει MSS (ἦνσει Wilamowitz; ἄνση Sommerstein; ἄνσει Henderson; 3 sg. imperfect ἀνθέω 'flower').

³¹ Cf. Leumann (1957: 78) with note.

118 ἰδεῖν R

1102 πρέσβεις MSS (πρέσβης edd., but nom. pl. would probably be -εες in Laconian; cf. 4.1.3.3, 4.2.1.5); 1321 ὕμναι MSS (2 sg. imper.).

(b) Compensatory lengthening

Doubtful

86 πρέσβειρα: cf. *Ach.* 883 (Boeotian). The word is not an Aristophanic coinage, however (*Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 32, *Eur. IT* 963). The word is analysable as πρεσβ- + -ειρα rather than *πρεσβε- + feminine ending. The -ειρα element is either a regular fem. ending (stem -er + suffix -ya) to a masc. form in -ῶν, or is formed analogically after πῶν : πείρα.³² If the digraph εἰ represents a lengthened e, as seems likely, the phonology is not Laconian; but the usage is probably a parodic literary echo, as at *Ach.* 833, with part of the joke depending on the feminization of masculine roles and titles (see also 4.4.47).

Of the ten forms under consideration four unambiguously show η, which we can take to be a marker of Laconian. Of the other six ἰδεῖν, ἄγειν, and ὕμναι show the Attic spelling and can be assigned to scribal error. Aristophanes' use of open [ɛ:] / η in place of the Attic [e:] / εἰ is presumably an attempt to indicate a more open sound than the Attic equivalent (though the real Laconian sound need not have been as open as Attic η). The list of words (4.1.3.1) with εἰ = inherited ei shows that there are no instances of 'hyper-Laconian' spellings. The differentiation between η and εἰ raises the question of whether there was any difference in the pronunciation of εἰ from the two sources in contemporary Attic; see Allen (1987: 71), Threatch (1980: 173–90). If, as seems likely, there was no difference, it is difficult to establish how Ar. could have known in which cases the substitution was appropriate unless he were reasonably familiar with the speech habits of Spartans; there is no obvious rule which would account for the forms spelt with η. It is true that all of them are verbal; but there are also verbal forms which contain an inherited [ei] not replaced by η (λέγεις, etc.).

³² See Ernst Fraenkel (1911: 249), Peters (1980: 187–9). Another possibility is a borrowing from words like ἀντιάειρα (*Hom.* epithet of Amazons), where it marks the fem. form of ἀνὴρ in compound (cf. masc. -ῆμωρ).

4.1.3.3. Laconian [ee]/εε corresponds to Attic [e:]/ει

Evidence for Laconian is missing, but since other West Greek dialects maintain εε uncontracted it is likely that this was the case in Laconian also.

(i) *s*-stem inflection: vowels brought together by the disappearance of intervocalic *s* did not contract so readily in West Greek as they did in Attic. Cf. Argolic ἀτελεες *BCH* 27, (1903), p. 267 no. 20: I-II, 1.3, 3rd c.; Cretan συγγενες (*IC* 1. xxx.2.2), early 3rd c; literary evidence: κοριοειδέες Epicharm. (44 Kaibel); cf. *Birds* 1750 (lyr.) βαρυαχέες.

173 ταὶ τριήρες (guaranteed): Attic τριήρεις (the noun τριήρης is derived from an *s*-stem compound adjective).

(ii) *u*-stem inflection: vowels brought together by the disappearance of *w* (which dropped much earlier than *-s-*) were uncontracted outside Attic. Cf. πρεσβες Rhodes (*IG* xii/1. 4254. 11) and Acragas (*IG* xiv. 952. 11 = Schw. 307), 3rd c; Messenian Φιαλεες (*IG* v/1. 419. 19 = Schw. 71), mid 3rd c; literary evidence: Epicharm. τραχέες (159 Kaibel).

Bad dialect

1102 πρέσβεις MSS (πρέσβης edd.): see preceding section. Cf. ἔπη (4.1.2.2). Dialect features like this hover on the border between phonology and morphology (4.2.1.4).

4.1.4. Vowels Corresponding to Attic [ɔ:]/ω

4.1.4.1. Laconian, Megarian, Boeotian [ɔ:]/ω = Attic [ɔ:]/ω

In phonological terms this category is not a particular problem, since an ω in Attic is matched by an ω in other dialects; but morphological factors cause some irregularities. Two diachronic categories need to be considered: (i) inherited long *o*, which is continued as ω; (ii) [a] + [o], which when contracted give [ɔ:]/ω in all dialects, subject to analogical interferences (Buck §159): cf. 4.1.4.2 below.

Laconian

(i) inherited [ɔ:]/ω: e.g. 81, 156, 998, 1256 οἰῶ; 94 γυναικῶν; 180 καλῶς.

(ii) ω < [ao]: e.g. (epigraphic) ἐνικον παντες IG v/1. 213. 89 (Schw. 12), Laconia, 5/4th c.

Aristophanic forms: 1253 (lyr.) ἐνίκων; 1005 ἐώντι.

As with η above (4.1.2.2), Laconian ω will have occupied a different place in the system from its Attic equivalent, but the Athenians must have felt the two vowels to be comparable on phonetic grounds.

Megarian

(i) inherited [ɔ:]/ω: e.g. 736 ἐγώνγα, 739 φασῶ, 740 χοιρίων, 741 ὀπως.

The distribution ω in Megarian resembles that in Attic.

Boeotian

(i) inherited [ɔ:]/ω: e.g. 860 κακῶς; 870 φέρω; 871 τῶν ὀρταλίων.

(ii) ω < [ao]: whether ao contracted to a single syllable at this period is not entirely clear from the epigraphic evidence: ao is found uncontracted in inscriptions (e.g. Ἀγλαοδωρω IG vii. 2719, ταμιαο ibid. 3172. 25), or written αυ in proper names beginning with Σαυ- (e.g. Σαυτελες IG vii. 1880). See further Blümel §§70, 71.

Doubtful

867 ἐπεχαρίττω (cj. Blaydes: ἐπιχαρίττω R, ἐπιχαρίτως cett.) = 2 sg. aor. mid. ἐπιχαρίζομαι (Att. ἐπ-εχαρίσω < *-ε-χαριτ-σα-σο); ἐπεχαρίτταο uncontracted would scan only at the expense of a split anapaest.

913 ἦρω (R; ἦρω Γ² E² j, Pap.; ἦρα a) = 2 sg. aor. mid. αἶρω (Attic form ἦρω < *ᾠφερ-σα-σο). ἦραο would yield a split anapaest. But the morphology of the word looks Attic (4.2.6.6).

Cf. 4.1.4.2 for 868 φυσάντες.

4.1.4.2. Laconian, Megarian, Boeotian [a:]/ᾱ = Attic [ɔ:]/ω

This equivalence is the result of different contractions of (i) ᾱ with ο, and (ii) ᾱ with ω—mainly in the gen. plur. of feminine nouns and pronouns (an easy morphological/semantic target), but also in

some verbal endings. In such cases ω and $\epsilon\omega$ are characteristic of Attic-Ionic (thus /a:o:n/ > /e:o:n/ > /eo:n/ > /o:n/); the other dialects have $\bar{a}$ in the article and, in noun endings, $\bar{a}$ or $a\omega$. See further Buck §41.4; Björck (1950: ch. 8).

Laconian

(ii) [a:]/ $\bar{a}$ + [ɔ:]/ ω : e.g. (epigraphic) $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\alpha\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \eta\iota\pi\pi\omicron\nu$ IG v/1. 213. 28 (Schw. 12), Laconia, 5/4th c.; (literary) $\tau\hat{\alpha}\nu$ Alcman (Pap., PMG 1.96).

Gen. plur. f.: (article) 94, 980, 984, 1269 (lyr.) $\tau\hat{\alpha}\nu$; (nouns) 980 $\lambda\sigma\alpha\nu\hat{\alpha}\nu$; 984, 1101 $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\hat{\alpha}\nu$; 1269 (lyr.) $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\upsilon\lambda\hat{\alpha}\nu$; 1312 (lyr.) $\beta\alpha\kappa\chi\hat{\alpha}\nu$; 1312 (lyr.) $\theta\upsilon\rho\sigma\alpha\delta\delta\omega\hat{\alpha}\nu$; 1312 (lyr.) $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\delta\omega\hat{\alpha}\nu$.

Doubtful

1157 $\omicron\upsilon\pi\bar{a}$ for Attic $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$ (may not be an authentic Lac. form; cf. 4.2.4.1.4 below).

Changing ω to $\bar{a}$ in the gen. pl. is probably quite an easy way of marking Laconian dialect (or West Greek in general); in this case the phonological replacement is closely connected with morphological category.

Megarian

(i) [a:]/ $\bar{a}$ + [o]/ ω : e.g. (epigraphic) $\Pi\upsilon\rho\rho\iota\delta\alpha$ IG vii. 8. 16 (Schw. 155), Meg., early 3rd c.; (literary) $\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\hat{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota$ Theocr. 15. 148. See further Thumb-K. §167.17; Buck §159; Chantraine (1948: §172).

751 $\delta\iota\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\hat{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ (Attic $-\hat{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$: cf. *Ach.* 535 $\delta\tau\epsilon\ \delta\eta\ ' \pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu\ \beta\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\nu$). If $\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ were a normal contract verb the combination [a] + [o] would give [ɔ:] in West Greek, as in Attic; cf. $\nu\iota\kappa\hat{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ IG xiv. 268. 2 (Schw. 166), Selinus, 5th c. There are, however, West Greek contracted verbal forms attested with [a:] from what looks like a combination of [ao] or [ae] (cf. 4.1.2.2a above). $\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ is one of these verbs; like semantically close $\delta\iota\psi\acute{\alpha}\omega$, it behaves differently from $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\omega$. The ptcl. $\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ is found in Homer (*Il.* 3. 25); the Attic infin. $\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\hat{\eta}\nu$ (cf. $\tau\iota\mu\hat{\alpha}\nu$) also points to a long a .³³ $\delta\iota\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\hat{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$, then, looks like an accurate dialect form.³⁴

³³ Bubeník (1983: 71 f.), E. F. Tucker (1990: 262). But *Ach.* 734 $\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\hat{\eta}\nu$ may be an Atticism: $\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\hat{\alpha}\nu < \pi\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}-$ would be consistent with $\delta\iota\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\hat{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$: cf. 4.1.2.2a above.

³⁴ But the transmitted text of Xen. *Hell.* 1. 1. 23 has $\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\hat{\omega}\nu\tau\iota\ \tau\hat{\omega}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ in reporting the Spartan letter.

(ii) [a:] / a + [ɔ:] / ω: e.g. (epigraphic) *των δικασταν IG iv²/1. 71. 6* (Schw. 157), Megarian (at Epidaurus), 3rd c.

772 *θυμιτιδάν* (perh. corrupt, 4.4.21); 795 *τάνδε*; 795 *τάν aj* (τῶν R)

Bad dialect

810 *αὐτῶν* MSS: *αὐτάν* edd.

Boeotian

(i) [a:] / a + [o] / o: it is not clear under what circumstances *a* + *o* contracted in Boeotian (see 4.1.4.1 above for the epigraphic evidence).

Doubtful

868 *φυσάντες* (φυσῶντες *a*): Attic form *φυσῶντες* < *φυσάοντες*.

Uncontracted *φυσάοντες* is excluded by the metre. Cf. 913 *ἦρω* (cett., *ἦρα a*), 4.1.4.1 above.

(ii) [a:] / a + [ɔ:] / ω: uncontracted in inscriptions (e.g. *δραχμαων, πολιταων*), though there are some examples of the definite article *ταν* (occasionally the article, being proclitic, contracted to *ā* in the dialects before this occurred in nominal forms).

Bad dialect

871 *τῶν* (τετραπτερυλλιδων): *τῶν* should be *τάων* or *τάν*, since the coinage is feminine.

883 (*πρέσβειρα πεντήκοντα Κωπάδων*) *κορᾶν*: contracted (guaranteed by metre); the word would be *κοράων* in Boeotian. The line is a parody of Aesch. fr. 174 Radt:

δέσποινα πεντήκοντα Νηρήδων κορᾶν (Ar. *Ach.* Σ^R; *κορῶν* Σ^L)
κορᾶν in Aesch. would imply a lyric context. If the Aeschylean verse had *κορῶν* Ar. must have altered the ending for the sake of dialect colour (the result is in fact appropriate for West Greek). See 4.1.4.1 above for *ω* as the result of *a* + *o*. *κορᾶν* cannot be viewed as a linguistic slip, since the literary parody overrides such considerations.

4.1.5. Vowels Corresponding to Attic [o:] / ou

4.1.5.1. Laconian, Megarian, Boeotian *ou* = Attic [o:] / ou

Two diachronic categories can be distinguished: (i) the inherited diphthong *ou*, which was written *ou* in all three dialects; (ii) secondary long *o* (from contraction and compensatory lengthen-

ing), which in some dialects (typically 'severe' Doric) merged with inherited [ɔ:]/ω, and in others was maintained as a long close vowel [o:]. In Attic the inherited diphthong *ou was written ου (3.1.1). However, its pronunciation grew near to that of secondary long o (a long close vowel), and the two sounds probably merged during the fifth century.

Laconian

(i) As in Attic, the inherited diphthong was written ου: e.g. (epigraphic) οὐδες IG v/1. 213. 4 (Schw. 12), Laconia, 5/4th c. It is uncertain what the exact pronunciation would have been; perhaps a diphthong.

(a) forms of the negative οὐ (the etymology of the word is obscure, but Myc. *o-u-qe* etc. points to an original diphthong): 173, 986 (2 ×), 990 (2 ×), 998, 1004, 1157, 1171 (2 ×), 1260.

(b) other items: 1163 τοῦτ'; 1303 (lyr.) κοῦφα: etymology obscure. It is unclear whether this was a West Greek word; it is found in epic and tragic lyrics as well as prose, and appears in Theocr. 11. 3 κοῦφον δέ τι τοῦτο καὶ ἀδύ.

(ii) Secondary long o merged with inherited long o, i.e. ω, and is therefore not represented in this category.

Megarian

(i) inherited *ou > [o:]/ou:

733 ἀκούετε; 776 ἀκούσαι; 762 ἀρουραῖοι R, Pap. (ἀρωραῖοι cett.; for the diphthong cf. Myc. *a-ro-u-ra*); 760, 769, 770, 771, 778, 785, 794, 809, 832 οὐ; 773 οὗτος; 817 οὔτω; 736 οὔτως; 755, 813, 820, 829 τοῦτο.

(ii) Secondary long o (in early inscriptions written ⟨O⟩, as in Attic: other Doric dialects, with the exception of Corinthian and Sicilian, show either ω or a mixture of ω and ου): e.g. (epigraphic) τοὺς στρατιώτας παρεχειν εὐτακτοὺς IG vii. 1. 7 (Schw. 154), Meg., late 4th c.

(a) ε + o: the result of ε + o in Megarian is unclear. There are four possibilities: (1) the two vowels were maintained as such in hiatus, (2) regressive height dissimilation caused the ε to be raised (towards ι), (3) progressive height dissimilation caused the o to be raised (towards υ), (4) regressive assimilation of ε to o (resulting in lengthened o, written ου in the Ionic alphabet).

Leaving aside special considerations³⁵ we can reject (1) and assume that the occasional epigraphic writing -*eo*- is conservative, denoting the pronunciation indicated under either (2) or (3). Further, we can assume that the result of (2) and (3) is in most cases a monosyllable (synizesis). The question is now whether Megarian shares (2) with severe Doric and some Aeolic; or (3) with a large number of Doric, Aeolic, and Ionic dialects; or (4) with Attic. There is no evidence in favour of (2): the decision must be between (3) and (4). Ahrens (1839-43: ii. 216) thought that Megarian had *ou* in common with Attic. The dividing line between shared areal features and *koine* influence is rather narrow in this case; the *ἐστραταγουν* (IG vii. 4. 15) that Ahrens quotes belongs to the 4th c. The problem is that evidence from the Megarid before this century is lacking; Thumb-K., working on a strongly genetic model, go to the colonies and quote *στραταγευντας* (D³ 645.74 Seleuc., c.172 BC) to support their assumption of *eu* in Megarian. However, the location of the inscription, its lateness, and the fact that it also produces *διαμαρτυρουντι* make it doubtful evidence. Probably the best method is to look at areal evidence. The local Doric dialects, such as Corinthian,³⁶ have *eu* and *eo*, as have the neighbouring Boeotian dialects of south-west Boeotia (e.g. Plataea, across Cithaeron from Megarian Aegosthena).³⁷ Most likely Megarian shared this treatment, but was influenced by Attic *ou* at a particularly early date.

778 ἀπολουμένα; 730 ἐπόθουν (monosyllabic ending confirmed by the metre).

Doubtful

750 ἀγορασούντες cj. Elmsley (ἀγοράσοντας R, ἀγοράσαντες a): emended to create a 'Doric' future (4.2.6.4); an authentic form would not scan, however (4.2.6.3).

(b) o + o

nominal inflection: 731 ἀθλίον; 817 ἐμαντοῦ; 743 λιμοῦ (λιμῶ B); 790 τωῦτοῦ (τωῦτῶ R).

the article: 834 τοῦ A (τῶ cett.); 770 τοῦδε.

other items: 736 ἄνους; 786 δελφακουμένα.

Bad dialect

798 τῶ MSS

³⁵ Such as the desire not to reduce a disyllabic word to a monosyllable.

³⁶ Thumb-K. pp. 128 f.

³⁷ Blümel §42. Elsewhere the standard Boeotian reflex is -*io*- (cf. 4.1.6 below).

(c) $o + \epsilon$: 772 *περίδου*.

(d) Compensatory lengthening: 755 *πρόβουλοι*; 739, 764 *χοίρους*.

Analogously to the case of secondary long *e* above, the forms with ω in the manuscript tradition are probably the result of scribal interference. For discussion of $\dagger\kappa\omicron\rho\iota\chi'$ etc. (731) and whether loss of postconsonantal digamma caused compensatory lengthening, see 4.1.19 below. It is unclear whether *ou* from $\epsilon + o$ (730 *ἐπόθουν* etc.) would have been regarded as an Atticism at this date.

Boeotian

(i) Continued the inherited diphthong as *ou*. It seems to have been monophthongized to [u:] (i.e. had merged with inherited $*\bar{u}$) by the time of the adoption of the Ionic alphabet. See further Blümel §75.

879 *αἰελούρωσ*; 909 *οὔτος*.

4.1.5.2. Laconian and Boeotian [ɔ:]/ ω = Attic [o:]/*ou*

In Attic secondary long *o* (the result of contraction or compensatory lengthening) was a long close vowel which was generally written ⟨*O*⟩ until the fifth century, when the spelling ⟨*OY*⟩ came into use. In Laconian and Boeotian secondary long *o* merged with the inherited long vowel (which had an open quality). This also happened in southern Peloponnesian dialects (Arcadian, Elean). ⟨ Ω ⟩ is used in inscriptions for secondary long *o* in both dialects after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet.

Laconian

Secondary / $o:/$: e.g. (epigraphic) *τως χωρως* Heracleia, *IG* xiv. 645. i. 8 (Schw. 62), 4th c.; *τως στατως* *IG* v/1. 145, p2, Laconia, 3rd c.; (literary) Alcman *τῶς ἀρίστωσ* (Pap., *PMG* 1.11); cf. Theocr. (3. 26 *τῶς θύννωσ* etc., see Dover 1971: xl). Thuc. 5. 77 has *τῶσ*. See further Thumb–K. §92.3.

(a) [o]/ $o + [e]/\epsilon$: 1260 (lyr.) *ἐλάσσωσ* (nom. pl.); 143 *ὑπνῶν* (infin.).

Bad dialect

1162 *τοῦγκυκλον* R (*τῶγκ-* edd.)

Doubtful

1252 *πρώκροον* cj. Ahrens (*προκρόον* MSS: for *προ-έκροον*).

155 *γῶν*, 1180 *γῶν* Ahrens (*γούν* R): < $\gamma\epsilon/\gamma\alpha + \acute{\omega}\nu$. The origin of

$\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}/\omega\tilde{\nu}$ is uncertain. Cowgill (1964: 359 f.) argues that Attic $\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}$ and Cypriot $\omicron\iota\tilde{\nu}$ (in $\omicron\iota\tilde{\nu}\mu$) < * $\omicron\epsilon\tilde{\nu}$.³⁸

(b) [o]/o + [o]/o:

1005 λόγω; 1004 τῷ μύρτω.

Bad dialect

106 φροῦδος < πρὸ δδοῦ. The word is common in tragedy.

(c) Compensatory lengthening: (acc. plur.) 1300 (lyr.) ἀγασῶς; 1099 ἀμπεφλασμένως; 1255 κάπρως; 168, 1001 (τοὺς Γ), 1255 τῶς; (fem. participles) 1296 (lyr.) ἐκλιπῶά; 1313 (lyr.) θურσαδδωᾶν (θურσαδδοᾶν R); 1298 (lyr.) κλέωά; 1313 (lyr.) παιδδωᾶν (παδδοᾶν R); (other items) 980 γερωχία (4.4.10); 1249 Μῶάν; 1297 Μῶά.

Bad dialect

1310 (lyr.) ἀγκονέουσαι *vel sim.* MSS (fem. pl. ptcpl.): ἀγκονίωαι cj. Dindorf.

1244 τοὺς Ἀσαναίους; 1249 (lyr.) τοὺς τ' Ἀσαναίους; 1253 (lyr.) τοὺς Μήδους.

Of the 29 forms under consideration 18 show ω , which we can take to be a marker of Laconian. The remaining 11 fall into three groups: (i) nine forms with $\omicron\upsilon$ which are either original or the result of corruption (this is especially likely with the acc. pl. forms), (ii) one form with $\omicron$ in the MSS (1252 προκρόον), and (iii) $\gamma\omega\tilde{\nu}$, which is uncertain.

As in the case of η for Attic $\epsilon\iota$ above (4.1.3.2), the spelling ω is presumably intended to indicate a more open vowel-sound in Laconian. In late fifth-century Attic the pronunciation of the inherited diphthong * $\omicron\upsilon$ had probably merged with that of secondary long $\omicron$; see W. S. Allen (1987: 75 f.), Threatch (1980: 238–59, 350 f.). In this case it is worth noting that most examples of $\omicron\upsilon$ occur in the negative, and most examples of ω occur in inflectional endings (this could have been a lexical/morphological guide to the playwright for the use of ω).

Boeotian

Secondary /o/: e.g. (epigraphic) τως ἀσεβιοντας IG vii. 2418. 3 (Schw. 467), Thebes, mid 4th c.; ἀργυριω Ἄτ[τικῶ] δρα[χ]μας δεκαεξ ibid. 2418. 10. See further Thumb–Sch. §236.6.

³⁸ 'That the $\omicron\upsilon$ of Attic $\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}$ is $\bar{o}$ rather than a genuine u -diphthong is made likely by the contraction of $m\bar{e}\ \omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}$ to $m\bar{o}\tilde{n}$, by the spelling < $\omicron\upsilon$ > in an Ionic inscription of 357 BC from Amphipolis (Schwyzer 799, Buck 12: cf. Schwyzer–Debrunner 2.584 n. 4), and by Doric and Aeolic $\acute{o}\tilde{n}$.'

(a) [e]/ε + [o]/ο

Bad dialect

861 *κατάθου*, the Attic form (*-θε-σο). Guaranteed by metre, unless it is assumed that the Boeotian form was apocopated to *καθιο*, which is metrically possible (Thumb-Sch. p. 46 for apocope of *κατά* before a dental).

868 *μου*, the Attic form (4.2.2.1.2). A monosyllabic word is guaranteed by the metre.

(b) [o]/ο + [o]/ο: (gen sg.) 884 τῶδε (τῶνδε A, ?E¹Γ¹); 910 τῶδ'.

(c) Compensatory lengthening (the acc. pl. forms occur in the Theban's list of wares 874-80): 879 αἰελοῦρως (cett.; -ους Γ¹); 879 ἐχίνως (cett.; -ους Γ¹).

Bad dialect

870 βούλει (and cf. 4.4.9 below); 880 ἐνύδρους (unmetrical: 4.2.1.3); 875 κολοιούς; 876 κολύμβους; 876 τροχίλους; 874 ψιάθους.

Although the tradition is not coherent, modern editors are justified in printing one ending (usually -ως) throughout the accusative plural, since it is scarcely credible that Aristophanes would have been inconsistent in representing this morphological category in the space of a few lines. On *μου* and *κατάθου* see also 4.1.6 below.

4.1.6. *Laconian and Boeotian [i]/ι Corresponding to Attic [e]/ε before a Back Vowel*

Again, Megarian is closer to Attic in the treatment of this vowel group (cf. 4.1.5.1 above). In Laconian and Boeotian the writing ι in place of ε before a back vowel is normal, as in many West Greek and Aeolic dialects. This may apply to a restricted number of words: some West Greek dialects (e.g. Argolic) show ι in the word *θεός* but not in others.³⁹ The sound change lying behind this graphic change has been disputed. The usual view is that it represents a raising of the vowel [e] to [i], which may then lead to synizesis (i.e. loss of syllabicity on the part of the [i]). Alternatively, it has been argued (e.g. by Schwyzler, and most recently by Méndez Dosuna 1993*a*, 1993*d*) that the intermediate stage of vowel raising did not occur, and that the writing ι is

³⁹ Criteria include: (i) whether synizesis would reduce the word to a monosyllable (as in the case of *θεός*), (ii) what the original dividing consonant was (if any), (iii) whether the syllable is open or closed.

purely an attempt to indicate synizesis. It may be that the data are most satisfactorily explained by a development which lies somewhere between these two hypotheses. On the one hand, there is good evidence for early and widespread synizesis in Greek, as Méndez Dosuna shows; and there is no reason to believe that this was *caused* by a dissimilatory raising of ϵ . On the other hand, fluidity (variation between one syllable and two) is a normal feature of synizesis in languages; a change (such as a rise) in the timbre of one of the vowels would be a side-effect of vowel weakening. This might lead to a diphthongal pronunciation in some cases.

Laconian

[i]/ ι for [e]/ ϵ before a back vowel: e.g. (epigraphic) ἀνιοχίον IG v/1. 12. 25 (Schw. 12), Laconia, 5th c. (Att. ἡμιοχέων); (literary) Alcman αἰνέοντι (Ap. Dysc., PMG 38.3; see D. L. Page 1951: 136). Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.23 ἀπορόμες τί χρεὴ δρᾶν (discussed 2.3.1.3.2 above).

(a) Inherited e of θεός (prob. < * d^hesos), all forms are scanned υ – (i.e. with syllabic ι): 1265 (lyr.) σιά (σεά B); 1320 σιάν; 1298 (lyr.) σιόν (σεόν B); 81, 86, 90, 142, 983, 1095, 1105, 1171, 1174, 1180 σιώ; 174 σιῶ; 1305 (lyr.) σιῶν.

(b) Verbal forms

1148 ἀδικιούμεσ MSS, ἀδικίόμεσ Elmsley, ἀδικιῶμεσ Wilamowitz (with note ad loc.). The ι must be non-syllabic whether one prints following $\omicron$ or ω (see Sommerstein 1986 for the rarity of the metrical pattern $\upsilon\upsilon|\upsilon\upsilon$ –, resolution followed directly by an anapaest).

198 ἐπαινιῶ MSS, ἐπαινίω edd. Must be scanned υ – υ –. Since the ι is syllabic, one might as well print the accent on it.

1003 λυγροφορόντες. Must be scanned $\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ – υ .

1002 μογίόμεσ. Could be scanned $\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ or (with synizesis) υ – υ .

183 δμιώμεθα MSS (δμιόμεθα cj. Elmsley): both of these forms are dubious morphologically (4.2.6.4). In phonological terms δμιόμεθα assumes that the segment corresponding to Attic -ου- has been Doricized as though from - ϵ + $\omicron$ -. If we read δμιώμεθα we could explain it by supposing that the playwright took δμιόμεθα as his basic Doric form, and then applied synizesis with compensatory lengthening (Méndez Dosuna 1993a: 123): if so the form can be scanned υ – $\upsilon\upsilon$.

1304 (lyr.) ὑμνίωμες C, ὑμνείωμες RBp. The reading of C, rightly adopted by editors, is probably a scribal slip (Henderson liii). Metre is uncertain.

(c) Other words (original intervocalic [w])

1164 δέομεθα; 1005 ἐώντι; 1252 (lyr.) Λεωνίδας (cf. Myc. *re-wo-*). It is quite a common element in names; the ε is only rarely found raised to ι; 981 νέον; 1249 (lyr.) τεάν.

(d) Uncertain cases

1310 (lyr.) ἀγκονεύουσαι RB, ἀγκονέουσαι p: cj. ἀγκονίωαι Dindorf. The forms offered by the MSS are too corrupt for sensible analysis.

988 (f) ἄλεός van Leeuwen (πάλαι ὄρ R, παλέος Γ). Could be scanned ∪ – or – – (with synizesis, 4.4.3).

1174 cjj. τεο (Sommerstein), τευ (Henderson): 4.2.2.3.3 below.

With regard to the metre one should note that synizesis is ruled out in 198 ἐπαινιῶ and 1003 λυγροφορίοντες. Méndez Dosuna (1993a: 123 f.) argues that the position of the accent on ἐπαινιῶ and ἀδικιοῦμες in the MSS is significant; but this must remain doubtful until we have a better idea of when and by whom accents were added, especially in view of the scansion of ἐπαινιω.

With the exception of ἀλεός, all the forms spelt with ε share the property of occurring in words where the vowels would originally have been separated by [w]. It is worth considering the possibility that Ar. was indicating a hiatus (or digamma) with these spellings. Intervocalic [w] (which later became a fricative [v]) was retained until late in Laconian (cf. 4.1.13 below for digamma), and in Laconian and Heracleian ε is often found in recent hiatuses marking the disappearance of [w], e.g. τα δεομενα Heracleia, *IG* xiv. 645. i. 173 (Schw. 62), late 4th c.; εασοντι *ibid.* i. 145; Λεοντισκω *ibid.* i. 183. For the raising of [e] see Thumb-K. §92.2, Buck §9. Extensive bibliography provided by Méndez Dosuna (1993a).

Cf. also 4.2.6.4 below for discussion of the contracted future.

Boeotian

[i]/ι (and [ei]/ει) for [e]/ε before a back vowel: e.g. (epigraphic) εο is found uncontracted in inscriptions, and cf. τως ἀσεβιοντας *IG* vii. 2418. 3 (Schw. 467), Thebes, mid 4th c.; ἀνεθειαν *IG* vii. 1671 (Schw. 475), Plataea, 6/5th c.; (literary) the Berlin papyrus of

Corinna shows *ι* in this position, e.g. *ἐκόσμιον* (PMG 654 i 27); Ap. Dysc. (Pron.64b, PMG 664) ascribes *ῥώνγ'* and *ῥώνει* to Corinna.

869 *τ' ἄνθεια* B (*τ' ἄνθεα* cett., *καὶ τ' ἄνθεα* Ald.). This is a puzzling form; a long vowel in the second syllable is guaranteed by the metre. *ε* was written *ει* (or *ι*) before *a* and *o* from an early stage in Boeotian inscriptions, but this does not explain why *ει* is scanned long here as though it were the Attic diphthong or spurious diphthong. A sequence *εα* which became *ια* might be scanned as a single syllable (but the text would still have to be emended). There is an example from Attica of the inverse spelling *ει* for *ε* scanned long (*πρυτανειον* for *πρυτάνεων*, CEG 439.1, c.480: cf. Méndez Dosuna 1992: §2).

898 *ῥώγα* = Attic *ἔγωγε* (Hesychius: *ῥώγα*, *ἔγωγε*. *Βοιωτοί*). The word is scanned as three syllables. For the weakening of *γ* cf. 4.1.10.

899 *ῥών*, either a participle of *εἶμι* (*ibo*) which goes with Dikaiopolis' question, or a Boeotian form of *ἔγώ* which goes with the Theban's reply. This is cited in scholia (ΕΓ) as a variant, and was incorporated into the text of B (*ῥὼ* B¹, *ῥὼν* B²).

Doubtful/Bad Dialect

861 *κατάθου*, 868 *μου*. Outside Attic-Ionic contraction did not take place owing to the raising of the *ε* (4.1.5.2). It is not clear what the Boeotian equivalents would have been. *-θου* presumably comes from *θε-σο*. *μου* may be the result of analogical remodelling (a gen. sg. ending added to the oblique stem (*ἐ*)μ-, cf. Hom. *ἐμείο*, *ἐμέο*, *ἐμεῦ*, Corinna *ἐμούς*). See Chantraine (1967: §148), and 4.2.2.1.2 below.

880 *ἰκτίδας ἐνύδρους ἐγγέλεις* MSS (4.2.1.3)

907 *πλέων* (short first syll. guaranteed): an Attic form (cf. Corinna, PMG 654 i 23 *πλίονας* 'more').

4.1.7. Vowels Corresponding to the Attic Long Diphthong *αι*

This category applies only to Boeotian. The data, however, both literary and epigraphic, are hard to interpret. Some epigraphic evidence suggests that [*a:*] + [*i*] in some contexts (not word-final) remained uncontracted (disyllabic): *Ἐρμαῖος* (e.g. IG vii. 2465, Schw. 470): but see Blümel §71 (p. 62) n. 41.; *Ποτιδαῖχος* (IG vii.

2820. 1, vii. 1348). But the long diphthong in the dat. sing. of the first declension is written $\alpha\epsilon$ and η . Blümel (§§62, 77) suggests that this is a result of being shortened and merged with the short diphthong. Cf. Hdt. 8. 135 τῆς Κωπαίδος λίμνης.

(i) uncontracted: 880 Κωπαίδας: two syllables guaranteed by metre.

(ii) contracted: 883 πρόσβειρα πεντήκοντα Κωπᾶδων κορᾶν: one syllable guaranteed by metre (Κωπᾶδων Elmsley, Κωπαίδων MSS). This line is a parody of Aesch. fr. 174 (Radt), cf. 4.1.4.2; since the contracted form is required by the metre and matches the original Νηρήδων, it is not a mistake, but (like κορᾶν) shows that Aristophanes was prepared to ignore minor linguistic points for comic effect.

The Attic forms in the text are contracted: *Ach.* 962 Κωπᾶδ' ἔγγελυν (one syllable guaranteed by metre); *Peace* 1005 Κωπᾶδων ἐλθεῖν σπυρίδας (anapaests: one syllable guaranteed by metre).

4.1.8. Attic Spelling of Dialect Vowels

In the cases listed below the vowels in the text are written in the same way as their Attic equivalents, despite evidence that there may have been phonetic differences.

4.1.8.1. Laconian, Boeotian [u]/v, Megarian [u? y?]/v ~ Attic [y]/v

In Attic-Ionic inherited **u* had shifted forward to [y] by the beginning of the fifth century. It is clear that this shift did not occur in most other dialects, where the pressures in the vowel-systems were different, but the epigraphic data are sometimes hard to interpret.

Laconian

The language of this part of the Peloponnese preserved its [u] until the modern period: cf. Tsakonian [ɣunéka] (Pernot 1934: 109) vs. standard mod. Gk. γυναικα [jinéka]. It was not until after the *koine* was well established that the use of the letter *v* was felt to be appropriate for the Attic-Ionic sound [y]. It is therefore at a relatively late date that one starts to find the spelling *ov* for

Laconian [u]: cf. (epigraphic) *διελουσαν* *IG* v/1. 1336. 7, Laconia, 2nd c. BC. (See also Bourguet 1927 ad loc., pp. 98–9.)

There is no sign in Aristophanes' text of spellings other than ⟨υ⟩. The playwright was unable to mark this vocalic difference in the text owing to the limits of Attic orthography: there was no obvious spelling available for [u], since *ou* was in use for Attic close [o:].

Megarian

It would not in principle be surprising if Megarian in common with Attic had a fronted [y]. In epigraphic texts preceding koppa has been taken to imply that a following *υ* is not fronted. Corinthian has some examples of ⟨ϙ⟩ before *υ*: e.g. *Ἀέσφυλιος* *IG* iv. 1596 = Arena 1967: no. 37, early 6th c.; but Arena (1967: 136) suggests that spellings with ⟨ϙ⟩ are an archaism and that Corinthian *υ* was already [y] at this period, and Méndez Dosuna (1993*b*) has convincingly attacked the theory that koppa before *υ* proves a pronunciation [u]. The pronunciation of Megarian *υ* in the late fifth century has not, therefore, been established.

There is no sign in Aristophanes' text of spellings other than ⟨υ⟩.

Boeotian

Although the development of the Boeotian vowel system in many ways anticipated the later movement of the common-Greek vowel system, the treatment of inherited **u* was an exception to this. The pronunciation remained [u], while the spelling moved (after the mid 4th c.) from *υ* to *ou*; the letter *υ* was then used for [ø:] and [y:] (cf. 4.1.8.3 below). See e.g. (epigraphic) *τουχα αγαθα* *IG* vii. 3083. 1 (Schw. 509), Lebadea, 3rd/2nd c.; (literary) the spelling *ou* where Attic has *υ* is regular in Corinna: *δάκρου* (*PMG* 654 iii 50); cf. also Priscian's statement (quoting Corinna) that Boeotian *υ* is like Latin *u* (*PMG* 669). See further Blümel §75; Thumb–Sch. §236.7; Levin (1990).

There is no sign in Aristophanes' text of spellings other than ⟨υ⟩.

4.1.8.2. Boeotian *ai*

The Boeotian shift [ai] > [ɛ:], represented orthographically *ai* (> *ae*) > *η*, seems to have started in the fifth century (Blümel quotes an inscription from Tanagra, Schw. 440.2, with a spelling

$\alpha\epsilon$ which he dates to the end of the sixth century, but other areas have the normal $\alpha\iota$). However, it is difficult to tell from inscriptions exactly what was going on before 400, when the adoption of the Ionic alphabet led to more accurate attempts to represent phonological developments. The spelling $\alpha\iota$ continued alongside η until the end of the fourth century, especially before vowels. The spelling η where Attic has $\alpha\iota$ is regular in Corinna: e.g. *Κιθηρών* (PMG 654 i 23).

[ai]/ $\alpha\iota$ in Aristophanes' text corresponds to Attic [ai]/ $\alpha\iota$ (e.g. 879 *αἰελοῦρως*, 884 *κῆπιχάριτται*, 900 *Ἀθάναις*).

There are numerous occurrences of this diphthong in *Acharnians*, and not a single trace in any manuscript or source of the spelling with η which is found in late classical Boeotian texts. Several hypotheses to explain the absence of this vocalic difference from Aristophanes might be offered: most likely in 425 the change which affected the pronunciation of Thebans was still relatively slight, so that the playwright did not think it worthwhile trying to represent it orthographically (although an actor on the comic stage might nevertheless imitate any difference he could hear).

If, however, Aristophanes had wanted to represent a different sound he would have had to devise an appropriate spelling for it. Unlike the case of $\epsilon\iota$ for η , there was no ready-made spelling in use in Attica, assuming that the Boeotian $\alpha\iota$ was not yet indistinguishable from an Attic η . He could have used the digraph $\alpha\epsilon$, though there is no reason to suppose that he was aware that the Boeotians themselves used this spelling. On the other hand, one might well conclude that, while the replacement of η with $\epsilon\iota$ was a relatively easy and obvious way of indicating Boeotian dialect for an Athenian audience, and one which would not carry the risk of confusion, the replacement of $\alpha\iota$ with η was too violent a change, and might have resulted in Aristophanes' Theban being difficult to understand. See Blümel §77.

4.1.8.3. Boeotian $\alpha\iota$

The development of this diphthong was parallel to that of $\alpha\iota$. The writing $\alpha\epsilon$ (indicating that the second element of the diphthong was acquiring a more open quality) is found from the beginning of the fifth century, especially in Tanagra, although $\alpha\iota$ remains the

more common spelling until well into the fourth century (e.g. $\tau\omicron\epsilon$ *Καβίροι* *IG* vii. 3917, Thebes, 5th c.). In the fourth century the spelling υ (for [y:]) appears, and this becomes the norm by the second half of the third century. See Knoepfler (1974a) for discussion of the thematic dative singular, and Blümel §76. In Corinna υ is found in place of $\omicron\iota$ except (i) before vowels, and (ii) in the dat. sing. of $\omicron$ -stems: e.g. $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ (*PMG* 654 i 26).

There are many occurrences of the diphthong $\omicron\iota$ in the speech of the Theban, and no trace of a spelling with $\omicron\epsilon$ or υ : e.g. 862 $\delta\sigma\omicron\iota$, 863 $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$.

See the preceding section for discussion of the orthographic difficulties.

4.1.9. *Laconian and Megarian: Phonetic Reduction of Diphthongs*

In Attic the diphthongs [ai]/ $\alpha\iota$ and [oi]/ $\omicron\iota$ are often 'reduced' to [a]/ α and [o]/ $\omicron$ before other vowels, particularly e and i . This is attested epigraphically, and can be confirmed in metrical texts. Cf. $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota$ at *Ach.* 28 ($\sim$ -) and 608 (- -): both lines spoken by Dikaiopolis; $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ at *Ach.* 411 ($\sim$ -) Dikaiopolis, and *Clouds* 723 (- -) Socrates. Phonetic reduction is attested in some West Greek dialects (e.g. Cretan) and in Arcadian, but is not generally associated with Laconian or Megarian (this may be due to lack of evidence; it would not in principle be surprising if Megarian shared this feature with Attic). See further Ahrens (1839-43: ii. §22.6); Buck §31; Threatte (1980: 270, 275).

Laconian

Epigraphic evidence: *IAG* 17. 6 (= Collitz 4418, Bourguet 16, c.390) has $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\eta\sigma\epsilon$, but this is uncertain evidence since it is the artisan's signature and the stone was erected at Olympia; cf. $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$ at Heracleia (*IG* xiv. 645. i. 137, Schw. 62), 4th c. $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\varsigma$ is attested in Laconia (*SEG* 11.956, c.550); $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota$ and $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\varsigma$ are found at Heracleia (4th c.). Cf. 4.4.1 below.

(i) [ai]/ $\alpha\iota$: 170 $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\upsilon\varsigma$; 1244, 1250 (lyr.) $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\varsigma$; 169 $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ (long second syll.); 1266 (lyr.) $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\varsigma$ MSS ($\acute{\alpha}\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ edd., cf. 4.4.1 below).

(ii) [oi]/ou: 81, 156, 998 οἰῶ: short first syllable guaranteed; 1256 (lyr.) οἰῶ: scansion uncertain; 1006 ποιηῶμεσθα: short first syllable guaranteed; 1317 ποίη (B; πόη Rp): not guaranteed.

It is difficult to say whether the scanning of a prevocalic diphthong as a short syllable is anything more than a literary licence on the part of the playwright. The use of οἰῶ as a stereotypical interjection (4.4.36) might be an argument in favour of a genuine 'reduced' pronunciation in Laconian. It seems probable that this phenomenon was irregular and unpredictable in the dialects as in Attic.

Megarian

Epigraphic evidence: ἀεί is attested for Megarian (but late: *IG* vii. 12. 10 = Schw. 156, Meg., c.300); cf. 4.4.1 below.

(i) [ai]/ai: 751 ἀεί (long first syll. guaranteed), 761 ἀεί (short first syll. guaranteed); 762 ἀρουραῖοι; 816 ἔμπολαῖε (long second syll. guaranteed); 749, 823 (× 2) Δικαιόπολι (long second syll. guaranteed); 835 παίειν.

(ii) [ei]/ei: 766, 787 παχεῖα (long second syll. guaranteed).
See also remarks under Laconian above.

(iii) [oi]/ou: 791 κἀναχρονανθῆ (-χρονανθῆ MSS) (long third syll. guaranteed); 753 οἶα (long first syll. guaranteed), 829 οἶον; 761 ποῖα.

CONSONANTS

4.1.10. Boeotian: Weakening of [g]/γ

Intervocalic [g]/γ is sometimes absent between vowels of which the first is a front vowel; it is tempting to see a foreshadowing of the later Greek development of [g] to [j] before a front vowel, and to [χ] before a back vowel. The first person pronoun is not attested in inscriptions. Hesychius has ἰώγα, ἔγωγε· Βοιωτοί. The following are attributed to Corinna: ἰώνγα, ἰώνει, ἰών (Ap. Dysc. *pron.* 64b, *PMG* 664, 695a). For the weakening of γ cf. ξυλλειῶ (Ducat 1971, no. 252.1, 5th c.). See further Lejeune (1972: §43 f.); Blümel §34; Bubeník (1983: 67).

898 ἰώγα (Attic ἔγωγε)

Doubtful

870 ἐγώ (all MSS); 874 ὀρίγανον.

899 ἰών: cf. 4.1.6 above.

Other instances of intervocalic γ in the text are surrounded by back vowels (873 ἀγαθά, 875 ἀπταγᾶς, 878 λαγῶς, 906 ἀγαγών). ἰώγα seems to have been a well-known Boeotism (the impression that it was stereotypical is reinforced by 870 ἐγώ and 874 ὀρίγανον).

4.1.11. *Consonants Corresponding to Attic [zd]/ζ:
Laconian, Boeotian δδ, Megarian ζ*

It is most likely that, during the period spanned by Old Comedy, the Attic sound represented by ζ was [zd].⁴⁰ A handful of dialects show a corresponding -δδ- (presumably indicating [dd]): these include Laconian (with Cretan and Elean among the West Greek dialects), and Boeotian (with Thessalian). See Méndez Dosuna (1993c) for an interpretation of -δδ- in the various dialects.

Laconian

δδ for ζ: e.g. (epigraphic) ὀπιδ(δ)ομενος IG v/1. 919. 4 (Schw. 38), Laconia, 5th c.; (literary) the Alcman papyrus has no instances of this sound; the quotations, which are unreliable witnesses, show sporadic writings of δδ, σδ, and ζ: see D. L. Page (1951: 143 ff.). For the implications of the variation ζ/σδ in Theocritus see Stanford (1968). See further Thumb-K. §92.15.

1164 βλιμάδδομες (βλιμάττομες MSS); 82 γυμνάδδομαι; 1313 θυρσαδδωᾶν; 94 μύσιδδε, 1076 μυσίδδην; 1313 παιδδωᾶν; 1316 παραμπύκιδδε; 171 πλαδδιῆν, 990 πλαδδίη; 206 ποτόδδδει; 1301 ψιάδδοντι.

The presence of a convenient way of writing this feature would have made it relatively simple to imitate.

Megarian

Megarian inscriptions show ζ, but as Bechtel (ii. 177) points out, there is no guarantee that this was pronounced in the same way as

⁴⁰ See W. S. Allen (1987: 56 ff.) for the evidence. For the prehistory see Diver (1958), Stang (1957); a different view in Teodorsson (1993).

Attic ζ: e.g. *Ζευξίος* IG vii. 4. 17, Meg., 4th c.; *Τροζανίος* IG vii. 7. 1, Meg., 3rd c.; *διασωίζοντι* IG vii. 189. 20, Pagae, 3rd/2nd c.

(a) Medial δδ = Attic ζ: 732 *μάδδαν*, 835 *μάδδαν* R, Sud. (-ζ-cett.); 734 *χρήδδετ'*.

Doubtful

823 *φαντάζομαι* (all MSS, Suda, Pap.; *φαντάδδομαι* some edd.).

(b) Initial ζ- = Attic ζ-: 737 *ζαμίαν*.

The forms with -δδ- are not necessarily hyper-Doricisms (or false Boeotian), but may represent an attempt on the part of the playwright to signal a different pronunciation from Attic. Bartoňek (1972: 151.22) notes

For these three dialects [Megarian, Corinthian, Rhodian] *occasional* (d)d-forms are demonstrated, without representing a *common feature* of the dialect in question. The Meg. forms *χρήδδετε*, *μάδδαν*, *φαντάδδομαι* Aristoph., *Acharn.* . . . may be due to Boeotian influence—provided we have not to do here with Aristophanes's linguistic inaccuracy.

In this case we should have to assume that ζ in *φαντάζομαι* is the result of textual corruption, while *ζαμίαν* is not necessarily inconsistent with -δδ-. Against this see Méndez Dosuna (1993c: 90, with n. 18), who argues rightly that there is no evidence for *dy > /dd/ in the north-eastern area of the Peloponnese; but Megarian territory does not fall in this area.

Boeotian

δδ (initial δ-) for ζ: e.g. (epigraphic) *τρεπεδδαι* Buck 39.24, Thespieae, early 4th c.; (literary) *Δεύς* is found in the Berlin Corinna papyrus (PMG 654 ii 34); also *σφαδδ-* in a different papyrus (PMG 690.3).⁴¹ See further Blümel §§125–30.

911 *Δεύς* (RE²Γ²; *Ζεύς* cett.); 947 *θερίδδεω* (a hybrid form, since the -δδ- is followed by the Attic infinitive ending -ειν, instead of Boeotian -ειμεν).

4.1.12. Laconian: [l]/λ before θ

The assimilation of λ (liquid) to ν (nasal) before θ (stop or fricative?) is attested in various Doric dialects and in Arcadian, both epigraphically and in the literary tradition. There is no

⁴¹ For Corinna's authorship of this see M. L. West (1970: 278 f.).

epigraphic evidence from Laconia, but see e.g. *Φωντίας* Heracleia (*IG* xiv. 645. i. 168, Schw. 62), 4th c.; *ἐνθη* Cyrene (*SEG* 9.72 §4, mid 4th c.); cf. *κατενθοντας* Arcadian (Schw. 657.4, 4th c.). Literary evidence: Alcman *ἐνθοῖσα* (Pap., *PMG* 1. 73). Cf. Eust. (on *Il.* 9. 364 = *PMG* 139) *Δωριεῖς . . . φίλτατος φίντατος, ἦλθεν ἦνθεν . . . καὶ Δωρικῶς . . . κέλετο κέντο παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶνι*. Forms such as *ἦνθεν* are also found in Epicharmus, Sophron, and Theocritus (and the Lille papyrus of Stesichorus).

Doubtful

105 *ἐλση*; 118 *ἐλσοίμ'*; 1081 *ἐλσών*.

4.1.13. Consonants Corresponding to Attic [tt]/ττ: Laconian, Megarian [ss]/σσ, Boeotian [tt]/ττ

Various combinations of a stop plus *y* or *w* (**κy*, **χy*, **τew*, and in some morphological contexts **τy*, **θy*) gave ττ in Attic, σσ in most other dialects. σσ was used in certain contexts in Attic literature (tragedy, Antiphon, Thucydides) owing to the literary prestige of Ionic; it finally prevailed in the *koine* (see Lejeune 1972: §§93–7, Buck §81). This will have been one of the better-known differences distinguishing Attic from the other dialects, although Boeotian and Cretan share ττ with Attic.

Laconian

-σσ- in place of Attic -ττ-: e.g. (epigraphic) *θαλασσα* Heracleia, *IG* xiv. 645. ii. 12 (Schw. 62), 4th c; (literary) e.g. *γεγλωσσαμέναν* Alcman (Athenaeus, *PMG* 39.2). The appearance of *θαλαθ(θ)α* in a Laconian inscription (*SEG* 26.461.7: cf. *SEG* 28.408, 33.398) is odd. The inscription, which is dated variously between 500 and 380, also contains the form *ποιεθ(θ)αι*. It seems unlikely that the sound represented by -θθ- is to be taken as a dental aspirate stop. The spelling may be due to the confusion surrounding the letters σ and θ; it would in this case be a hyper-correct ('inverse') spelling of [-ss-], based on the fact that the sound [θ] was often spelt σ in order to capture its quality as a fricative, as opposed to an aspirated dental [t^h] (but if the inscription is early there would be a problem with the chronology of the spelling σ in Lac.: 4.1.15–16 below). There are occasional spellings θθ in Cretan; spellings such as *ψινοντος* (ptcpl. of *φθίνω*) indicate that Cretan θ was (in

some contexts) pronounced as a fricative, and Bile argues that *θθ* denotes [tth] becoming [ts].⁴²

84 ὑποψαλάσσετε (for the stem cf. ἀψάλακτος *Lys.* 275); 1260 (lyr.) ἐλάσσωσ (stem ἐλαχ-)

Anomalous

1164 βλιμάττομες MSS: an odd reading for βλιμάδδομες (where δδ = ζ).

Megarian

-σσ- in place of Attic -ττ-: e.g. (epigraphic) *πρασσοντας IG vii. 1. 17* (Schw. 154), Meg., late 4th c.; *θαλασσαν IG vii. 4. 11*, Meg., 4th c.

763 ἐξορύσσετε; 763 πάσσακι (cf. Attic πάταλος: 4.4.40).

Bad dialect

755 ἔπραττον MSS (ἔπρασσον edd.).

The stems in question are ὀρυχ- (cf. ὀρυκτός), πακ- (cf. πόρπαξ, πήγνυμι), and πρακ- (cf. ἄπρακτος, πρᾶγμα).

Boeotian

ττ corresponding to Attic ττ: e.g. (epigraphic) *χαριφετταν Schw. 538* (note), Thebes, 6th c.; (literary) the Berlin papyrus of Corinna has ἐ[τ]αττον (*PMG* 654 i 20). See further Blümel §§125–30.

875 ἀτταγᾶς ‘francolin’: etymology obscure; possibly onomatopoeic.

Bad dialect

875 νάσσας ~ Attic νήττα < *nā-t-ya: cf. Skt. *āti-*, Lat. *anas*, *-tis*. See Perpillou (1972: 118). *-ty- gave [-tt-] in Boeotian: νάσσας is not an Attic form, but it is not Boeotian either, unless one assumes that the pronunciation of this geminate was half-way between [t] and [s] in Boeotian and thus needed to be distinguished from the Attic sound. But it is more likely that the reflex [-tt-] was known by the Athenians to be a marker of their dialect (even Ionic has [-ss-]), and thus had to be discarded when imitating other dialects.

⁴² Bile (1988: 141 ff.): on this view the normal Cretan ττ denotes [tts] becoming [ts]; the parallel with the Attic/Boeotian ττ would therefore be spurious.

4.1.14. Boeotian [tt]/ττ Corresponding to Attic [s]/s

The data fall into two diachronic categories:

(i) Words where [s]/σ in Attic comes from *-ty-

Attic has -ττ- from *-ty- in words where the original cluster contained a transparent morphological boundary (-t#y-, as in ἐρέττω < *eret-yō); elsewhere the result of the cluster was -s- (e.g. τόσος < *totyos, and cf. ὄσος). See further Lejeune (1972: §93), Sihler §196. In Boeotian *-ty- gave [-tt-] (cf. 4.1.13 above). Boeotian ὀποττοι and ὀποττα are attested: e.g. *IG* vii. 522. 14 (Schw. 461), Tanagra, late 3rd c.; τοςον in Corinna (*PMG* 654 iv 21) has to be explained as a literary form.

Bad dialect

862 ὄσοι, 873 ὄσ': both Attic forms guaranteed by metre.

(ii) Words where Attic [s]/σ comes from the assimilation of *-ts-
In Boeotian original *-ts- gave -ττ- by assimilation of the sibilant to the stop (Lejeune 1972: §92). Only Cretan shares this development; Attic-Ionic (and Arcadian) have σ, other dialects σσ. Cf. (epigraphic) aor. ἐπεφαφίττατο *IG* vii. 3172. 11 (Schw. 523), Orchomenos, late 3rd c.

867 ἐπεχαρίττω (Blaydes): ἐπιχαρίττω R, ἐπιχαρίτως cett. Blaydes's reading = 'you have done me a favour' (2 sg. aor. mid.): cf. ἐχαρίσω *Ach.* 437.

884 κήπιχάριτται: 2 sg. aor. mid. imper. Cf. χάρισσαι Sappho (27.7 L-P), χάρισαι *Thes.* 938.

The equivalences of t, tt, s, and ss are synchronically confusing (cf. also 4.4.15 below). The only case where the Aristophanic forms are in accord with the epigraphic evidence is ττ for Attic σ in aorist parts of the verb ἐπιχαρίζομαι. This is most likely because these verbal forms were part of well-known Boeotian phrases.

4.1.15. Boeotian [tt]/ττ Corresponding to Attic [st]/στ

There is some evidence for Boeotian [tt]/ττ in place of Attic [st]/στ (see Lejeune 1972: §§58, 110; but Blümel §147 casts doubt on an assimilation [st] > [tt]). *wid-tō gives Attic ἴστω, which is not, however, used in oaths in the same way.

860 ἴττω Ἡρακλῆς; 911 ἴττω Δεύς.

The word was no doubt taken over as part of a stereotypical phrase; see 4.63.3 below.

4.1.16. *Laconian* [θ]/σ *Corresponding to Attic* [t^h]/θ⁴³

Laconian inscriptions start to show σ for θ at the beginning of the fourth century: this seems to indicate that Laconian anticipated the later development of Greek in changing the aspirate [t^h] into the fricative [θ]. See e.g. ἀνεσηκε IG v/1. 255 (Schw. 16). Literary evidence: σ for θ is also found in the text of Alcman (D. L. Page 1951: 142 f.). The text of the Spartan-Argive treaty in Thucydides 5. 77 is inconsistent and probably corrupt. It has both Ἀθηναῖοι and σιῶ σύματος (see 2.3.1.2.2 above).

(a) σ for θ: in the phrase ναὶ τῷ σιῶ (81, 86, 90, 142, 983, 1095, 1105, 1171, 1174, 1180); other forms of θεός: 1263 σιά, 1298 σιόν, 174 σιῶ, 1305 σιῶν; elsewhere: 1300 ἀγασῶς; 1257 ἄνση; 170 Ἀσαναίων; 1244, 1250 Ἀσαναῖος; 980 Ἀσάναν; 1299 Ἀσάναν; 105 ἔλση, 118 ἐλσοίμ', 1081 ἐλσών BpΣ^R (-θ- R); 983 κυρσάνιε, 1248 κυρσανίω; 94 μύσιδδε, 981 μυσίξαι Γ (-θ- R), 1076 μυσίδδην; 995 ὀρσά; 1263, 1272 παρσένε; 1080 σέλει BpΣ^R (θ- R); 1081 σέτω; 1262 σηροκτόνε; 1004 σιγῆν Γ (θιγ- R).

(b) Exceptions: the text has θ

(i) θ retained after ν: 91 Κορινθία; 1098 πεπόνθαμες; 1268 συνθήκαισι; but 1257 ἦνσεεν.

(ii) θ retained after σ: 1077 ἔξεσθ' ὦς; 1096 ἔσθος; 1006 ποιησόμεσθα (-μεσθα guaranteed by metre).

(iii) θ as the result of [-t] + [h-]: 1077 ἔξεσθ' ὦς; 95 ποθ' ἀμέ; 87, 1076 ποθ' ὕμέ.

(iv) θ in the ending of the 1st plural: 183 ὁμιόμεθα; 1096 ἀμβαλώμεθα Bp (one consonant, either -σ- or -θ-, required by the metre; -μεσθα R); 1164 δεόμεθα (edd.; -μεσθα R); 1270 (lyr.) πανσαίμεθ' MSS (παναίμεθ' edd.). Note: -μεσθα is an ending used by poets for metrical reasons.

(v) The MSS also present θ in: 162 λώμεσθ' (λῶμες edd.); 1252

⁴³ At *Ach.* 905 the text has νεὶ τῷ σιῶ in the mouth of the Boeotian. σιῶ is not a Boeotian form, but a Laconian one. There are no other instances of σ for θ in the text of 860-954. It is unlikely that the form was written by Aristophanes; it must have entered the tradition at an early date by a scribe or editor familiar with *Lysistrata*. There is no epigraphic evidence for σ in place of θ in Boeotian.

(lyr.) *θείκελοι* (cjj. *σιείκελοι* Blaydes, *σείκελοι* Wilamowitz); 1256
 (lyr.) *θάγοντας*; 1271 (lyr.) *ἴθι*; 1313 (lyr.) *θυρσαδδωάν*.

The text is far from uniform in its presentation of σ in place of Attic $[t^h]/\theta$. The apparent confusion in the distribution of σ for θ in *Lysistrata* may reflect corruption in the history of the text; the arrangement above is an attempt to extract some sort of pattern; but it is difficult to tell whether the pattern which emerges is the result of selective Atticizing in the tradition, or reflects the orthographic decisions of the playwright.

There need not be serious doubt about the authenticity of σ for θ in the cases at (a); although the first inscriptions do not show it until the beginning of the fourth century, as we noted above, this is not so long after the production of the *Lysistrata*, and orthographic change is always likely to lag behind phonetic change. There is no epigraphic evidence for retention of θ after ν ; but there is some evidence that θ following σ had not become a fricative: *ἀποστρυθεσαι* (inf.) IG v/1. 1155. 2 (Schw. 51), 5th c.; *Νικοσθε-νιδας* (next to *ἀνεσηκε*) IG v/1. 1317. 1, 4th c.

Wilamowitz's idea (1900, pp. 94 f.: quoted 4.5.3 below) that Aristophanes took over spellings for Laconian dialect features from the text of Alcman cannot apply to σ for θ , since the fact that inscriptions do not have σ for θ until the fourth century makes it unlikely that the change of $[t^h]$ to $[\theta]$ had taken place at the time Alcman was writing. These spellings would not, therefore, have been in the original text of Alcman, and would not have been available to Aristophanes as a model. It is remarkable that, while the papyrus of Alcman's *Partheneion* regularly has σ for θ , this does not happen after ν and σ , exactly as in Aristophanes (see D. L. Page 1951: 142 f.).

There seems no reason why the forms listed under (v) should not be the result of corruption, since the conditions under which θ appears can be paralleled from (a). In (iii) the retention of θ is not unexpected and can remain. In (iv) the presence of *-μεσθα* (even where it is metrically impossible) perhaps points to an original *-μεσα* to which θ was later added during transmission to make a more acceptable-looking form (cf. 4.2.6.1 below). This morphological category will have been an obvious candidate for Atticizing. The retention of θ in (i) can be explained either graphically (the writing $\nu\sigma$ does not occur in Attic inscription, except rarely

with $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ -) or phonetically; in (ii) the best explanation is perhaps the phonetic one: fricativization of $[t^h]$ after $[s]$ is improbable.

4.1.17. *Laconian [h]/ ϵ Corresponding to Attic Intervocalic [s]/ σ*

In intervocalic position $\langle H \rangle$ is found in place of inherited σ in Laconian from the fifth century. There are sporadic writings with σ , either because (i) the feature was felt to be a provincialism, as Buck says, or (ii), more likely, the Spartans were unconcerned with orthographic consistency or accuracy. In the other dialects for which this is attested (East Argolis, Elis, and Cyprus), the writing with h appears in the mid fourth century or later. See further Thumb-K. §92.13. Epigraphic evidence: e.g. $\nu\kappa\alpha\eta\alpha\varsigma$ IG v/1. 213. 3 (Schw. 12), Lac., 5/4th c. The writing of h for intervocalic s is not found in the text of Alcman: see D. L. Page (1951: 142).

(a) The text has $[h]/\epsilon$ in place of $[s]/\sigma$:

1001 ἀπήλαάν (edd.; ἀπήλαον R, ἀπήλων Γ); 1296 (lyr.) ἐκλιπῶά;
1313 (lyr.) θυρσαδδῶάν, 1298 (lyr.) κλέωά; 1297 (lyr.) Μῶά, 1249
(lyr.) Μῶάν; 1247 (lyr.) ὄρμαόν; 995 πᾶά; 1313 (lyr.) παιδδῶάν;
1013 πωτάόμαι; 90 χαῖα, 1157 χαίωτέραν (4.4.59).

Doubtful

980 γερωχία (γερωσία B): the spelling with χ is odd (4.4.10). Cf. Bourguet (1927: 146 f.). 170 ? ῥυάχετον Hesych. (ῥυγχάχετον R, ῥυχάχετον pBG): van Leeuwen and Coulon are probably mistaken in printing ῥυᾶχ-. The word is a *hapax*, possibly a Doricism, based on ῥυᾶξ (4.4.48).

(b) Intervocalic $[s]/\sigma$ remains.

(i) Miscellaneous: 1310 (lyr.) ἀγκονέουσai *vel sim.* MSS (ἀγκονίωαι edd.): f. pl. ptcl., 'raising dust'; 1243 κᾶείσω Sud., κᾶίτω R, καὶ κινήσω Bp (κᾶείσω Wilamowitz, Sommerstein; κᾶείω van Leeuwen, Coulon, Henderson): the aor. subj. of αἶδω (in crasis with καί); 1105 Λυσίστρατον R (Λυῖστροτον edd.); 1270 (lyr.) παυσάίμεθ' MSS (παυᾶίμεθ' edd.); 168 πείσομες, 171 ἀμπίσειεν; 1006 ποιησόμεσθα *vel sim.* MSS (ποιηῶμεσθα edd.); 1242 τὰ φυσατήρια MSS (φυνάτήρια edd.).

(ii) The σ remains in the dative plural: 1180 f. τοῖσι . . . ἀμοῖσι, 1269 ταῖσι συνθήκαισι (-καις MSS). The dative in -σι is not a feature

of Laconian, but a poetic licence on the part of Aristophanes:

4.2.1.2.

(iii) 106 πορπακισόμενος: the form is a coinage, and the present πορπακίζομαι hypothetical. However, a Laconian aorist of a verb in -ίζω would have a stem ending in [ks]/ξ, which is excluded by the metre in this case. Therefore, as Henderson (ad loc.) notes, the -σ- is best treated as a substitute for -ξ- *metri gratia*.

There are in the text twelve forms, covering a wide morphological range, that in place of Attic [s] show Laconian intervocalic [h], written with the normal rough breathing in the manuscripts. If we assume (3.1.1) that Aristophanes used the Ionic alphabet, then the letter ⟨H⟩ will not have been available to denote aspiration. The sequence *vowel* -[h]- *vowel* will have been written simply *vowel*-*vowel*, as on inscriptions from the fourth century. There is one anomalous form, γερωχία, where χ is found instead of the expected rough breathing; this is difficult to explain.

There are thirteen cases where the text retains intervocalic [s]. Dative plurals in -οισι/-αῖσι are used throughout tragedy and comedy as a convenient licence. It would clearly have sounded odd to give them a Laconian gloss by turning the [s] into [h], since the forms are characteristic of epic literary language and the epichoric Ionic dialects.⁴⁴ This indicates that Aristophanes made a distinction between epichoric dialect and literary dialect.

In the other cases editors do not make clear the principles on which they decide to print a conjectural ' in place of a transmitted σ. For example, the transmitted σ in πέισομες and ἀμπελσειεν has not been altered. The σ in these forms is a simplification of σσ, which is the result of the dental θ in conjunction with σ; editors may have felt that this secondary σ was able to resist the weakening which occurred in other contexts, but this is doubtful (cf. Lac. Πειθιστρατος). However, all except Wilamowitz and Sommerstein print κἀείω, which is also a dental stem verb.

4.1.18. Laconian, Megarian, Boeotian [ti]/τι Corresponding to Attic [si]/σι

In Attic the change [ti] > [si] took place in the 3rd sing. and 3rd plur. verbal endings, and in other contexts which are hard to

⁴⁴ Cf. 4.2.1.2 below for a fuller discussion.

define, including (most) nouns and adjectives in *-τιος/-τιῶ*. This change took place in other East Greek dialects: Ionic, Arcado-Cypriot, Lesbian, and Mycenaean (see Buck §61, Lejeune 1972: §51). The retention of *τ* in such contexts was a characteristic of West Greek, Boeotian, and Thessalian.

Laconian

(a) 3rd plur. active ending *-ντι*: 4.2.6.1.3.

(b) Lexical items: 1251 *Ἀρταμνίῳ* (*Ἀρτεμισίῳ* B): 4.4.62.1; 980 *γερωχία* (= *γερωῖα* ?): 4.4.11.

This is a phonological shift which is connected closely to morphological factors. It would clearly be absurd to talk of a rule which replaced every [si] with [ti]; there are for example dative plurals with inherited [si] in the text, 1181 f. *τοῖσι, ἀμοῖσι* (4.2.1.2).

Megarian

3rd sing. active ending *-τι*: 4.2.6.1.3. Cf. also 798 *Ποτειδᾶ* (4.62.2).

Boeotian

3rd plur. active ending *-ντι*: 4.2.6.1.3.

4.1.19. Digamma: [w]/f

In Attic (and Ionic) [w]/f was lost at an early date in all positions (see Threaght 1980: 23). Other dialects, including Laconian and Boeotian, kept this sound in certain positions.

Laconian

Initial digamma is regularly preserved in inscriptions until the fourth century, and is found written with β— until the second century AD.

The extent to which contemporary Laconian preserved intervocalic [w] is unclear from epigraphic evidence. It is written in *ναφῶν* (IG v/1. 1564. 3, late 5th c.) and other words, but lost in names such as *Κλεομαχῶ* (IG v/1. 1293, 6/5th c.) and *Μενέλαος*. There are examples of intervocalic -β- in much later inscriptions, and words in Tsakonian which preserve intervocalic [v] where

original [w] can be reconstructed.⁴⁵ Perhaps the loss of intervocalic [w] was only partial, restricted to specific environments or words (names, etc.).

Postconsonantal digamma had dropped without lengthening the preceding vowel at this period. The epigraphic evidence is as follows: Laconia: *προξενος* IG v/1. 962. 16 (2nd c. BC); *μον[αν]* IAG 17.3 (= Collitz 4418, c.390 BC); *καλον* IG v/1. 1562 (6th c., found at Olympia) is in a hexameter verse and, on the analogy of epic, may be *metri gratia*. Heracleia: *μονον* IG xiv. 645. ii. 20 (Schw. 63), 4th c.; *δρος* *ibid.*, *passim*. Literary evidence: (a) initial: Alcman has *φάνακτα* (papyrus, PMG 1.6) etc., (b) intervocalic: *ἀνειρομέναι* (PMG 1.63), (c) postconsonantal: *καλῶς* (Plut. *Lycurg.*, PMG 41). See D. L. Page (1951: 104 ff.), Hiersche (1978: 46). The lack of lengthening in both Attic and Laconian is in contrast with various Ionic and West Greek dialects (Buck §54).

(a) Initial and intervocalic position

(i) [w] etymologically expected and supported by metre:

155 *Μενέλαος* (< -*λαφος*): the metre excludes -*λᾱs*, but would also admit -*λεως*. The current Laconian form would probably have been *Μενέλας* (cf. 4.4.62.1).

156 *παρευιδων* MSS: *παρ(α)ιδών* (Meineke) is metrically confirmed. Both *παρφιδών* and Attic *παριδών* are ruled out by the metre (for lack of apocope see 4.2.5.1). Aristophanes may have written *παρευιδων*.

1096 *τὸ ἔσθος* (< *φέσθος*): hiatus is guaranteed.

1243 *καείῳ* (*καείσω* Sud, *καῖσω* R, *καὶ κινήσω* Bp): the metre guarantees hiatus between *a* and the diphthong *ει*. There was, etymologically, a digamma in this position (*ἀφεί-*). Attic contracted the verbal stem to one syllable (*ἄιδ-*, *ἄισ-*, *ἦισ-*).

1244 *χᾶμ' αἰεσιμ' ἀμᾶ* (edd. since Meineke): *καὶ ἡμᾶς* R, Sud., *καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς* Bp. The metre guarantees hiatus (*ἄφει-*) as in the previous line, so long as one does not raise serious doubts about the conjectured reading.

1252 *πρώκροον* (*πρόκροον* MSS): 3 plur. imperf. *προ-κρού-ω*, 'attack' (*πρω-* from *προ-ε-*). The scansion - ∪ - implies a syllabification *πρω-κρο-υον* with consonantal *υ*, i.e. *πρώκροφον*. This form of *κρούω* is not attested elsewhere (contrast *προκρούειν* *Eccl.* 1018); cf. however, Homeric *κροαίνω* (< **κροφαίνω*), and

⁴⁵ See Bourguet (1927: 70-2), and Pernot (1934: 135 ff.) for the Tsakonian evidence.

(ii) [w] etymologically expected but not confirmed (or excluded) by metre

206 *ποτόδδει γ' ἀδύ* (all MSS): some have suggested replacing the γ of the MSS with digamma (e.g. D. L. Page 1951: 110 n.1). This is not implausible. For the common confusion of Γ and $\mathcal{F}$ see Bourguet (1927: 71 n.1, 145); and Masson (1990) for Γ in inscriptions and in the grammarians.

988 ἀλέος: παλαιορ R, παλεος Γ¹ Sud. (4.3). π in the MSS indicates an original *φ*- (not confirmed by the metre). See Bourguet (1927: 145) on *φ* written Γ or Π.

1005 ἔωντι: cf. Hesych. ἔβασον. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔασον, συγχώρησον. οὕτως Συρακόσιοι καὶ Λάκωνες. Attic usually kept the initial vowel distinct, so nothing much can be concluded from this form, although there are examples of synizesis (e.g. *Lys.* 734, and cf. *Clouds* 932 with Dover's note ad loc.).

1076 $\epsilon\pi\eta$: initial digamma is not excluded by the metre.

1099 ἰδον MSS: $\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu$ Brunck, Coulon, Henderson; $\xi\iota\delta\omicron\nu$ Sommerstein. $< \epsilon_{F}\iota\delta\omicron\nu$. The metre here permits a long or two shorts, but not one short.

1164 *δεόμεθα*: for the intervocalic [w] cf. Homeric *δέομαι*. Attic also keeps the vowels distinct (4.1.6).

1248 $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$ R (τ' $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ Bp): West Greek $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma < *tewos$, Attic $\sigma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma < *twos$. A disyllabic form is guaranteed here, though less significant in lyric metre (see 4.1.6 above for unraised ϵ). Cf. Henderson's cj. $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\nu$ (or $\tau\epsilon\omicron$) in 1174 (with Alcman *PMG* 48).

1250 *οἰδεύ* (lyric): digamma cannot be guaranteed. Henderson's scansion (*Μῶδῶν ᾄτῳς* - - -) excludes initial [w], but there is no reason why the trochaic unit cannot be - - -.

1252 *θείκελοι* MSS, *θεοείκελοι* Σ^R : *σιείκελοι* Blaydes, *σνείκελοι* Wilamowitz. A form with [w] (e.g. *σιοφείκελοι* if a glyconic is acceptable, or *σιφεί-*) would be possible here.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Cf. Sihler (1995: §186.1).

⁴⁷ Cf. D. L. Page (1951: 110 n. 1).

1254 *Λεωνίδας*: that the word *λέων* originally had intervocalic *-f-* is indicated by Myc. *re-wo-*. Cf. 4.1.6 above.

(b) Postconsonantal position

143 *μόνας* (short first syllable guaranteed) < *μονf-*; 180 *κἄλως*, 1148 *κἄλός*, 1243 *κἄλόν* (all guaranteed) < *καλf-*; 1307 (lyr.) *κόραι* < *κορf-*.

In (a) and (b) above the text produces the following results:

In initial position there are seven forms under consideration, and [w-] is not ruled out by the metre in any of the seven; in two cases (156 *παραιδών*, 1096 *τὸ ἔσθος*) hiatus is guaranteed, and in two further cases (988 *ἀλεός*, 206 *γ' ἀδύ*) a suspicious spelling in the MSS may point to the writing of digamma in the text. In intervocalic position hiatus is permitted by the metre in a handful of cases; what is not clear is the pronunciation that this indicates. In postconsonantal position the [w] neither appears nor lengthens the vowel. This is the same as Attic usage, but different from e.g. Ionic and Corinthian. There is no 'hyper-correct' digamma.

Hiatus in a text or inscription may indicate the presence of digamma, or may be a sign of a recently disappeared digamma. In the text of Aristophanes it is not possible to tell whether a digamma was actually pronounced where the spelling and metre indicate hiatus. There are some signs, however, that attempts to represent an intervocalic and prevocalic [w] were made; it is difficult to explain how else a *π* could have become attached to the beginning of *ἀλεός*. The poet seems to have been aware of an alien phoneme in Laconian, and also of how it was written.

Megarian

Handbooks (Bechtel. ii 169, Thumb-K. §132.10, Buck §257.5) state that initial digamma was retained in Megarian. However, the forms they cite as evidence all come from Selinous; there is no evidence from the Megarid itself. Bartoněk argues that loss of digamma was a feature of the extended Saronic area.⁴⁸ The loss of postconsonantal digamma was not accompanied by lengthen-

⁴⁸ Bartoněk (1971: 120), 'Die Übereinstimmung des Ostargolischen nicht nur mit dem Attischen, sondern auch mit dem Korinthischen und Megarischen tritt auch bei . . . die Anzeichen für eine früh erfolgte Liquidierung von *w* im Ostargolischen'. Arena (1971: 50, 'La documentazione epigrafica del digamma: Megara e colonie') collects the evidence. See also Dover (1963).

ing of the preceding vowel in Megarian: e.g. (epigraphic) *προξενον* Schw. 153.12, Meg., late 4th c.

(a) Initial and intervocalic digamma omitted:

(i) Absence of [w] supported by metre

742 *ἰξεῖτ' οἴκαδις* (< *φοικ-*); 782 *πέντ' ἐτῶν* (< *φετ-*); 795 *κρής* (< *κρέφας*: 4.4.28).

(ii) Absence of [w] not confirmed (or excluded) by metre

779 *Ἐρμᾶν, οἴκαδις* (< *φοικ-*); 783 *σαφ' ἴσθι* (< *φίσθι*): anapaest possible (but split); 783 *ματέρ' εἰκασθήσεται* (< *φεικ-*): anapaest possible (but split).

(b) Postconsonantal digamma

731 *κόρι' ἀθλίου* ac: unmetrical.

κοριχ' ἀθλίου R: unmetrical.

κόριά γ' ἀθλίου Tr.: clearly a correction.

Original *κορφ-*. The forms presented by the MSS are unsatisfactory: emendations include *κούρι'*, *κώρι'* (Elmsley, so Coulon), or *κουρίχι'* (Sommerstein). A short *o* would be expected in Megarian (cf. *κάλος* and *μόνος* below); however, the line looks parodic (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1701).

765, 766, 788 *κάλος* (all guaranteed) < *καλφ-*.

794 *μόνος* (guaranteed short first syll.), 814 *μόνας* < *μονφ-*.

In initial and intervocalic position there is no sign of digamma. In view of the fact that Aristophanes included digamma in his representation of Laconian, it is reasonable to suppose that he could have done the same for Megarian had he wanted to. It may be, therefore, that digamma had dropped completely from Megarian by this stage. In the instances where digamma is etymologically expected in postconsonantal position there is no evidence of vowel lengthening. This is in line with the epigraphic evidence.

Boeotian

[w]/*f* is found in inscriptions until the Hellenistic period. The data are as follows:

(a) Postconsonantal digamma is not preserved in the classical period (5th c. on), and there is no evidence of compensatory vowel lengthening: e.g. (epigraphic) *Θιοξενος* BCH 23, 194. 1. 14, Acraephia, late 3rd c.; (literary) postconsonantal digamma is not written in the text of Corinna. A short first syllable in *καλὰ* is

required by the metre at PMG 655. 2: the form κώρας (PMG 654 iii 21) is most likely a literary form (see D. L. Page 1953: 49).

(b) Initial *f*- is found in inscriptions until the second century: e.g. (epigraphic) φαστινος IG vii. 2428. 17 (Schw. 473) Thebes, mid 3rd c.; (literary) initial digamma is written in the Corinna papyrus: φελικῶν (PMG 654 i 30).

The data for intervocalic *-f-* are more ambiguous: already by the 5th c. there are some instances where it is missing (e.g. Schw. 440.6), but it is often preserved and appears as late as the 1st c. BC. See further Thumb-Sch. §236.11, Blümel §§96, 97.

[w] is etymologically expected in the following words

(a) Postconsonantal digamma: 867, 884 ξένος (< ξεν*f*-): short vowel guaranteed in both cases; 883 κορᾶν (< κορ*f*-): short vowel guaranteed (paratragic: 4.4.47).

(b) Initial and intervocalic digamma: 860 ἔττω: initial [w] not excluded by metre; 911 Θείβαθεν, ἔττω Δεύς MSS (see below).

Doubtful

913 ἦρα (2 sg. aor. mid. of αἶρω/ἀείρω: 4.2.6.6).

In the case of initial digamma the text preserves no trace of the letter, which is not particularly surprising; what we need to enquire is whether it is excluded by the metre. In 860 it is not excluded; in 911, if Θείβαθεν is retained, *f*- at the beginning of ἔττω is metrically impossible. If, however, as Dover (1963) suggests, the form Θείβαθε is substituted for Θείβαθεν in 911, then *f*ἔττω can be written (indeed it would be necessary for metrical reasons). Note that editors emend Θείβαθι (868) to Θείβαθε. Θείβαθεν in 862 is justified on the grounds that it is followed by a vowel; cf. πρόσθε ποδῶν (Od. 22. 4) πρόσθεν Ἀχιλλῆος (Il. 19. 13). For discussion of the suffix *-θε(ν)* see Lejeune (1939: 111-13).

4.1.20. Phonology (Segmental): Conclusions

4.1.20.1. Laconian

In general Laconian gives the impression of being well represented phonologically. There are a few forms where vocalic differences are guaranteed by the metre: ἐπαινίω (198) and λυχνοφορίοντες (1003) show a raised vowel and consequent absence of contraction. Consonantal differences that can be confirmed in-

clude the presence of digamma (or hiatus) in *παραιδών* (156) and *τὸ ἔσθος* (1096); *Μενέλαος* (155) may be a literary form (it occurs in epic and tragic chorus).

Forms which are not confirmed by the metre, but for which there is good manuscript support, are differences in vowel quality (e.g. *η* for *ει*) and consonantal differences (*δδ* for *ζ*, *σ* for *θ*, [h] for *σ*).

4.1.20.2. Megarian

Megarian, like Laconian, is on the whole well represented. Features for which there is good manuscript support include the avoidance of obvious Atticisms: *ᾱ* for *η*, *σσ* for *ττ*, and *η* from the combination *α + ε*. *διαπεινᾶμες* is a less obvious dialect form which has been observed. *η* and *ω* for secondary long *e* and *o* are generally avoided (the few variations in the tradition may be the result of scribal interference). This illustrates the basic point that the playwright was able to distinguish between the Doric dialects instead of thinking in terms of a general Doric patina.

Attic forms include *ἐμavτου* and *πεινήν*. *ἀρωραῖοι* is valuable, since it indicates that there was a certain amount of inexpert hyper-correction at an early stage of the history of the text.

4.1.20.3. Boeotian

In the context of a number of Boeotian features well supported by the manuscripts there are also anomalous forms; this may be due to the singularity of the Boeotian vowel-system. Some appear to be Attic (i.e. indicate a watered-down version of the dialect, a normal literary phenomenon), and others may be non-Boeotian features of north-central Greece.

The metre is not generally helpful in guaranteeing Boeotian forms (unless *Κωπαῖδας* 880). *ἄνθεια* (869) is uncertain. *ει* for *η* and *ω* for *ου* show a basic familiarity with the peculiarities of the Boeotian long vowels. *σσ* for *ττ* (*νάσσας* 875) is a 'hyper-dialectal' feature.

Κωπαῖδων, if it is not Boeotian, must represent a deliberate choice to put comic effect (parody in this case) above strict accuracy. For this reason *κορᾶν* in the same line (an echo of Aeschylus) should not be viewed as a 'mistake'.

4.1.21. *Accentuation: Non-Segmental Phonology*

The ancient Greek accentual system is generally equated with the Attic-Ionic system, for two reasons: firstly, Attic-Ionic accentuation passed into the *koine* and lies behind the modern Greek stress accent; and secondly, we know very little about dialectal variation in accent. This is principally because accent was not at any stage marked on epigraphic material; when accent was introduced for literary texts in Hellenistic Alexandria (credit is generally given to Aristophanes of Byzantium), the epichoric dialects had for the most part already given way to the *koine*.

There were some peculiarities of accent where Attic differed from Common Greek. A well-known one is the retraction of the accent in words of the pattern $\circ - \circ$ from penultimate (a circumflex) to antepenultimate syllable (Vendryes's law): a properispomenon becomes proparoxytone. Thus $\acute{\epsilon}\tauοῖ\mu\omicron\varsigma > \epsilon\tauοι\mu\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega} + \gamma\epsilon > \epsilon\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon$.

West Greek future tense formations (4.2.6.4) are not included in the following discussion.

Laconian

Our evidence for 'Doric' accentuation comes from two sources: remarks by the ancient grammarians, and occasional diacritics in papyri and medieval manuscripts. This material provides little evidence for the accentuation of the epichoric dialects, however: first, it would be absurd to suppose that a single accentual system prevailed over all dialects of West Greek ancestry; secondly, it is not clear where the Alexandrian and later grammarians got their information from when they accented literary Doric texts as diverse as Pindar and Theocritus.⁴⁹ Two sources suggest themselves: (i) an oral tradition of reading literary Doric texts, supported by musical traditions, and perhaps by musical notation, (ii) the spoken Doric of their own day.

According to the grammarians Doric accent was more or less progressive in nature. General statements such as $\Delta\omega\rhoι\epsilon\iota\varsigma \delta\acute{\epsilon} \eta\delta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota \tau\eta \delta\acute{\xi}\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ('Dorians rejoice in oxytonesis') are suspiciously schematic, looking like a symmetrical balance to Aeolic barytonesis;

⁴⁹ See Molinos Tejada (1990: 1-19) for Theocritus; Nothiger (1971: §19) for Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus.

evidence quoted by the grammarians, plus the evidence of manuscripts, reveals a tendency to accentuate progressively certain morpho-semantic categories in Doric, such as the nom. plur. of the first, second, and third declensions; and other groups of words which are less easy to define.⁵⁰ Most of the dialect forms under (a) below are ancient instrumentals used adverbially, which is less common in Attic: for the morphology see also 4.2.4.1 below.

(a) words where vowel-length is a guide to accent

1255 (lyr.) *αγεν* R, *ἄγεν* Bp: *ἄγεν* all edd. = Attic *ῆγεν*. NB. epic *ἄγεν* without augment.

999 *ἄμα* MSS (also 1244, 1258 lyr., 1319): *ἀμά* all edd.: *ἀμα* guaranteed in 1319.

118 *ῶπα* MSS: ∪ – guaranteed: *ῶπα* Coulon; *ὀπά* Henderson, Sommerstein; *ὀπω* Wilamowitz.

1080 *ὀπάι* R, *ῶπα* Bp; 1188 *ὀπαι* R¹, *ῶπα* R²: ∪ – guaranteed: *ὀπά* Henderson, Sommerstein; *ῶπα* Coulon, Wilamowitz.

169 *πάντα* MSS (also 180, 1013, 1096); 1081 *πάντα* Bp, *παντᾶ* R: – – guaranteed: *παντᾶ* Coulon, Wilamowitz; *παντᾶ* Henderson, Sommerstein.

180 *τάδε* MSS: – ∪ guaranteed: *τάδε* Coulon, Wilamowitz; *τᾶδε* Henderson, Sommerstein.

(b) personal pronoun: 1st plur., dat. (4.2.2)

1081 *ἀμῖν* R, *ἄμιν* p, *ἄμμιν* B (short ι guaranteed); 1162 *ἀμῖν* MSS; 1297 (lyr.) *ἀμῖν* R, *ἀμῖν* p, *ἀμῖν* B: *ἀμῖν* all edd.

(c) Suppression of Attic peculiarity

986 *ἐγών γα* MSS; 990 *ἐγών γα* B, *ἐγωνγα* R, *ἐγώνγα* Γ: Attic *ἐγωγε* (Vendryes' law): *ἐγώνγα* Sommerstein; *ἐγών γα* Henderson, Wilamowitz; *ἐγωνγα* Coulon.

But 999 *ἐπειτα* MSS: all edd. The Attic accent shift has operated on *ἐπί* + *εἴτα*: Vendryes 1945: 262 f.

Megarian

See under Laconian above for general remarks on Doric accent. Megarian is even less certain than Laconian, however, since it is a 'mild' Doric dialect; which is merely to say that areal influence will have led to interaction and convergence not only in the segmental but also in the prosodic phonology.

⁵⁰ For the available evidence and differing accounts see Ahrens (1839–43: ii. 26–35); Vendryes (1945: ch. XII); Moore-Blunt (1981); García Teijeiro (1993).

(a) personal pronoun: 1st plur., dat. (4.2.2)

821 ἀμῖν cett., ἀμῖν A (long ι guaranteed). ἀμῖν Coulon, ἀμῖν Sommerstein.

832 ἀλλὰ μὲν R, ἀλλὰ μὴν Γ, ἀλλὰ μὲν cett. (short ι guaranteed). ἀμῖν edd.

(b) suppression of Attic peculiarity

736 ἐγώνγα B, ἔγωνγα RΓΕ (ἔγων A); 764 ἐγώνγα MSS.

ἐγώνγα edd.; cf. Attic ἔγωγε (Vendryes's law)

Uncertain

731 πόνηρα MSS: πόνηρα Coulon, Sommerstein; πονηρά Dindorf, perhaps because of grammarians' statements (e.g. Arcadius 71. 16) that the proparoxytone accent is an Attic peculiarity, employed when the word means 'suffering' rather than 'wicked'.

(c) misc. forms where some MSS show 'progressive' accentuation

732 ἀμβάτε MSS (4.1.1.2, 4.1.2.1): ἄμβατε edd.

770 θάσθε cett., θάσθε Pap. (accent visible): θάσθε edd.

732 μάδδαν MSS (also 835): μάδδαν edd., perhaps wrongly. The accent is less likely to represent an attempt to Doricize the prosody than to indicate a short vowel: 4.1.1.1.

734 πεπράσθαι cett., πεπράσθαι B: πεπρᾶσθαι edd.

Boeotian

The ancient grammarians were sure of one thing at least, and that was that barytonesis (a recessive accent, as in the Attic verb) was characteristic of Aeolic. By this, however, they meant Lesbian; we have almost no information concerning the Boeotian accent, and no reason to suppose that it was consistently recessive. There was a tradition of literary Boeotian in the case of Corinna; but accents in the Corinna papyrus are in line with the standard Attic-Ionic system.⁵¹ It may be that, given the precocious nature of vowel-

⁵¹ See Levin (1989), who rightly remarks that, apart from the obvious hypothesis that Attic accentuation was applied to the Corinna text, there may well have been a similarity between the two accents due to 'contact between the neighbouring populations of central Greece'. Wilamowitz suggested that 'Doric' accentuation might be appropriate for Corinna in his *editio princeps* of the papyrus (Berlin 1902: esp. 42-4); in his discussion, for example (p. 40), he quotes ἐτάττον (col. i. 20), which he prints without an accent in his text. Later editors, however, have reported the reading ἐ[τ]αττον.

development in Boeotian, the pitch accent had started to move towards a stress accent at the period in question.⁵²

(a) personal pronoun; 1st plur., dat. (4.2.2):

903 ἀμὴν R, ᾤμιν or ᾤμιν cett.: ἀμὴν edd.

(b) suppression of Attic peculiarity

898 ἰώγα MSS: Attic ἔγωγε (Vendryes's law): ἰώγα edd. Herodian also gives ἰώγα as Boeotian.

(c) other forms: 914 ἀδικείμενος AGE¹, Pap.; ἀδικεῖμένος E²; ἀδικημένος R; ἀδικημένος HVP2C; ἀδικούμενος B: ἀδικείμενος edd.: paroxytone forms in the MSS show that scribes confused by the vocalism thought the form was a perfect ptcple.

The accentuation of Boeotian ἀμὴν (e.g. ᾤμιν, 903) may reflect sporadic efforts by late editors to Aeolicize Boeotian texts,⁵³ or it may simply be the result of a general uncertainty in the accentuation of unfamiliar forms.

If one were tempted to Doricize the accentuation of, for example, Laconian on the basis of the grammarians' rules, candidates for change would include plural substantives (γυναικες > γυνάϊκες), third plural preterites (ἐνίκων > ἐνικῶν), and miscellaneous others (παῖς > παῖς). This *may* have been closer to what the audience heard, but printing the accents would imply that our knowledge of Laconian dialect was greater than it is; especially since the three diacritics which were devised for Attic-Ionic and Homeric Greek give only a partial insight into the intonation of the language (their primary function in antiquity seems to have been to disambiguate the written text).

It seems intuitively likely that the playwright intended his actors to adopt an appropriate intonation for their dialect roles. Since this intonation is beyond our reach, the question that remains is what principles are available to the editor who has the responsibility for a printed text. The omission of accents in a modern text seems to be ruled out on aesthetic grounds. In some rare cases vowel quantity in a dialect word (generally prompted by morphological difference) entails a different accentuation. In most cases, however, the most prudent course is to print normal Attic accentuation except in cases where there is good reason to suppose that Attic differed from the other dialects.

⁵² Cf. Chadwick (1992) on the Thessalian accent; and Teodorsson (1974: 294) for conclusions (not widely accepted) on the nature of the Attic accent in the 4th c.

⁵³ i.e. by imposing a recessive accent, for which see García Teijeiro (1993: 162).

4.2. MORPHOLOGY

4.2.1. *Inflection of Nouns*

4.2.1.1. Thematic declension: dat. sing. (Boeotian)

Boeotian inscriptions indicate that the *o*-stem dat. sg. had a short vowel (written -οι, -οε, later -υ, -ει). This may be an original locative rather than a development of the -οι which Attic and most other dialects have (Chantraine 1967: §§16, 23). There are a few instances of -οι. Blümel (§§62, 253) proposes a phonological explanation: a sound-change $-\bar{V}y > -Vy$ in the period 450–400. Cf. (epigraphic) ἐν τοι γεγραμμένοι χρόνοι Buck 412. 20, Thespiae, c.230 BC. The dat. sing. is written -οι in the papyrus of Corinna; elsewhere υ is found in place of expected οι (4.1.8.3): e.g. πράτοι PMG 654 iii 32.

884 τῷ ξένῳ

4.2.1.2. Thematic and *a*-stem declensions: dat. plur. (-οισι/-αισι)

The disyllabic ending (ancient locative) of the thematic declension coexists with -οις in epic, and is used in tragedy (Deplazes 133 f.). It is found in Ionic and early Attic inscriptions. After c.450, however, -οις (ancient instrumental) is generalized in Attic. Datives in -οισι are used also by Athenian characters in *Lys*.

The ending -αισι is analogical on the *o*-stem -οις. -αισι is the result of the contamination of -αις with the locative -ᾱσι/-ησι, probably on the analogy of -οισι. It is also found in epic and tragic chorus. The form disappears from Attic inscriptions by 420; its presence in epigraphic texts to such a late date most likely represents an archaism of the 'official' language.

The disyllabic ending of the thematic and *a*-stem declensions must be regarded as a literary form; the West Greek dialects for the most part generalized the short ending. That long forms of the dat. plur. should not be regarded as markers of epichoric dialect is further illustrated by the fact that they are found just as frequently in the speech of Attic-speaking characters in the play: e.g. *Ach*. 25 (Dikaiopolis) ἀλλήλοισι. It is unlikely that Ar. used them to achieve an epic or archaic effect; they were probably 'invisible' poetic licences which did not give an aura of high poetry to the speech in which they occurred.

Laconian

Monosyllabic forms only are found in both the thematic and the *a*-stem declension:⁵⁴ cf. (epigraphic) *ἐνθεβόηαις ἡπποῖς IG v/1. 213. 15* (Schw. 12), Laconia, 5/4th c. Literary evidence: in Alcman both types of ending can be guaranteed by the metre: D. L. Page (1951: 115 f.) concludes that the long forms comprise 'a licence imported from a source alien to the vernacular'. This is true of literary Doric in general (e.g. Pindar, Theocritus). See further Deplazes (1991: 53 f. for data, 151 f. for maps), and 4.1.11 for intervocalic *s* in Laconian.

(a) Long forms

1180 *τοῖσι* (guaranteed); 1181 *ἀμοῖσι* (guaranteed).

1268 (lyr.) *ταῖσι συνθήκαισι* edd.; *ταῖσιν* (*ταῖς Bp*) *συνθήκαις* MSS.

(b) Short form

1298 *Ἀμύκλαις*

Boeotian

The *o*-stem dat. plur. is *-οῖς* (also written *-υς*, *-εις*); the *a*-stem dat. plur. is *-αις* (also written *-ης*). Cf. (epigraphic) *θεοῖς IG vii. 2471* (Schw. 471), Thebes, mid 3rd c.; *κοραῖς SEG 22.404*, Thespiae, 5th c. Literary evidence: the text of Corinna has both long and short forms (D. L. Page 1953: 51 f. and M. L. West 1970: 285). See further Blümel §254.

(a) Long forms

913 *ὀρναπετῶισι* (guaranteed); 900 *Βοιωτοῖσιν* (guaranteed).

(b) Short forms

863 *τοῖς ὀστίνοῖς* (guaranteed), 873 *Βοιωτοῖς*.

900 *Ἀθάναις*

4.2.1.3. *i*-stem nouns

The most common *i*-stem inflection in Attic (that of *πόλις*) followed a pattern which had ablaut of the pre-desinential element, and which was extensively reorganized (see Chantraine 1967: §§82–7; Buck §109). In other dialects the *i*-stem inflection followed a pattern which did not ablaut.

⁵⁴ *Δίος κῆροισιν* is found in a hexameter inscription: *IG v/1. 919* (Schw. 38, *CEG* 373), 5th c. Cf. Deplazes (1991: §46).

The πόλις pattern *i*-stems of Attic were no doubt felt to be a peculiarity of that dialect, and would have been an obvious category to dispense with in the representation of foreign dialect. The non-ablauting pattern would have been familiar to Athenians from authors such as Homer, Pindar, and Herodotus.

Laconian

Non-ablauting *i*-stem inflection: cf. (epigraphic) πολιος gen. sg. *IG* xiv. 645. i. 64 (Schw. 62), Heracleia, 4th c.; cf. West Argolic πρυτανιες (*IG* iv. 764. 1, 4th c.). Literary evidence: πόλιας acc. pl., Thuc. 5. 77. Alcman has gen. sing. [ῥ]βριος (Pap., *PMG* 7.17). So also Pindar, Theocritus. The nom. pl. ὄρνις attributed to Alcman (Athenaeus, *PMG* 82) for ὄρνιες is difficult to explain.

981 τοὶ πρυτάνιες (guaranteed): Attic -εις.

Megarian

Non-ablauting *i*-stem inflection: cf. (epigraphic) τας πολιος *IG* vii. 1. 13 (Schw. 154), Meg., late 4th c. See further Thumb-K. §133.3.

Bad dialect

755 τῇ πόλει MSS (τᾷ πόλι edd.): editors may be right to assume that the form presented by the MSS is corrupt.

Boeotian

Non-ablauting *i*-stem inflection: inscriptions show *i*-stem accusative plurals in [-i:s]/-ις < [-ins] (Blümel §265): e.g. ἐμπραξίς, πρորρεισίς (Schw. 485. 13). This is the original form of the acc. plur.; forms in -ιας, which are commonly found in other (e.g. West Greek) dialects, are recharacterized.

880: all MSS have ἰκτίδας ἐνύδρους ἐγγέλεις. These three words represent the first two metra of the line and are scanned — — — — — — — —. Unfortunately — — — — is impossible as an iambic metron; therefore ἐνύδρους has to be emended. The emendation accepted by modern editors is ἰκτίδας, ἐνύδριας [Elmsley], ἐγγέλιας [Blaydes].

ἐνύδριας: nom. sg. ἐνυδρίς. This form assumes that Aristophanes was imitating the non-Attic inflection of *i*-stems (cf. Herod. 2.72 γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐνύδριες ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ). It is not open to conjecture ἐνύδρις (— —) since δρ does not make position in comic dialogue, even when Ar. is imitating other dialects.

ἐγγέλιος: not required for the metre, but likely on the grounds that Aristophanes would not have been inconsistent in the endings of two adjacent words. Supported by a schol. (E) in 889: Ἀττικῶς ἐγγέλυν, Βοιωτικῶς ἐγγελιν.

There is a problem reconciling the above forms with Boeotian epigraphic evidence. Nevertheless, they are evidence (if they have been correctly restored) that there was an intention to have non-Attic forms of this characteristic declension as markers of the Boeotian's speech.

4.2.1.4 *s*-stem nouns: nom. plur. (Laconian)

s-stem substantives originally had a stem ending in *-es* (or *-os*) to which the inflectional endings were added. After the loss of the inherited intervocalic *s* most non-Attic dialects maintained the two resulting vowels in hiatus, while Attic contracted them. Laconian epigraphic evidence: e.g. πεντε ρετεια IG v/2 159. 4 (Schw. 57), Laconian (Tegea), 5th c.; cf. πεντε ρετη IG xiv. 645. i. 111 (Schw. 62), Heracleia, 4th c. Literary evidence: in the neut. pl. (acc.) Alcman has ἄνθη PMG 58.2 (Hephaestion) and ἔπη PMG 39.1 (Athenaeus), but also κάδεα PMG 103 (Ap. Dysc.). For the nom. plur. in *-ees* see under 4.1.3.3 above.

173 ται τριήρες (guaranteed): Attic *-eis*.

Doubtful

1076 ἔπη (monosyllabic ending guaranteed).

4.2.1.5 *w*-stem nouns: nom. plur. (Laconian)

The nom. plur. of *w*-stems in West Greek dialects is generally *-ees* (< **-ew-es*). Epigraphic evidence: cf. οἱ Φιαλεες IG v/2 419. 19 (Schw. 71), Messenia, 240 BC (Attic οἱ Φιγαλεῖς); οἱ πρεσβεις IG xiv. 952. 11 (Schw. 307), Acragas, late 3rd c.

1102 πρέσβεις R (πρέσβης edd.): monosyllabic ending guaranteed.

Editors choose to replace the Attic *ει* with a Laconian-looking eta; the resulting form is unlikely to be authentic, but it may be what Aristophanes wrote.

4.2.2. *Personal Pronouns and Possessives*

4.2.2.1. First person singular

4.2.2.1.1. Nominative (= Attic ἐγώ)

Laconian

There is no epigraphic evidence. ἐγών is attested in Alcman (e.g. *PMG* 1.39, Pap.), Epicharmus (85 Kaibel, Ap. Dysc.). Ap. Dysc. (*Pron.* 64b = *PMG* 43) attributes ἐγώνγα and ἐγώνη to 'the Dorians', illustrating the former with a quotation from Alcman. He also quotes ἐγών from Sophron (*Pron.* 63b = 81 Kaibel). Hesych. has ἐγώνη· ἐγώ, Λάκωνες.

983 κᾶρυξ ἐγών, ὦ κυρσάνιε: guaranteed (to prevent hiatus).

986, 990 ἐγώνγα.

Doubtful/Bad dialect

117, 1174, 1243 ἐγὼ MSS (ἐγών edd. since Blaydes): there seems no reason not to read ἐγών on the three occasions where the MSS give ἐγώ.

Megarian

ἐγο is attested in Selinous (*SEG* 16. 573. 11, 5th c.), but in a *defixio* which often drops final -n; ἐγονε at Megara (in emphatic position, *SEG* 41. 413, c.470). For literary Doric see under Laconian above.

736 ἐγώνγα; 748 ἐγών AE²Γ²j (ἐγὼ cett., Pap.); 754 ἐγών α (ἐγὼ cett., Pap.); 764 ἐγώνγα.

Doubtful/Bad dialect

810 ἐγὼ MSS (ἐγών edd.).

Boeotian

There is no epigraphic evidence. Ap. Dysc. (*Pron.* 64b = *PMG* 664) discusses Boeotian forms of the pronoun, and attributes both ἰώνγα and ἰώνει to Corinna; other ancient sources give the forms with a smooth breathing.

870 ἐγὼ; 898 ἰώνγα, i.e. ἰώ(ν) + γα.

Doubtful

899 ἰών (4.1.10 for the reading).

4.2.2.1.2. Boeotian: genitive (= Attic ἐμοῦ, enclitic μου)

No epigraphic evidence available for Boeotian. Ap. Dysc. (*PMG*

682, *Pron.* 95a) ascribes the tonic form ἐμοῦς to Corinna (-s ending borrowed from athematic nominal inflection). The form is likely to have been parallel to the equivalent second-person pronoun, for which we have τεοῦς in Corinna (*PMG* 654 iv 6, 25: *Pap.*) besides τεῦς (*PMG* 677, *Pron.* 96a).

Doubtful

868 ἐξόπισθέ μου.

4.2.2.1.3. Megarian, Boeotian: dative (= Attic ἐμοί, enclitic μοι)

Megarian

In West Greek ἐμίν is found in emphatic position; μοι was used in unstressed position, as in Attic. Epigraphic evidence is limited: cf. μοι Schw. 173.51, Ch. T., early 3rd c. For West Greek ἐμίν cf. Schw. 276a (Rhodes, 5th c.). Literary evidence: Ap. Dysc. (*Pron.* 104bc = 86 Kaibel) quotes from Sophron to illustrate Doric ἐμίν. It is also found in Epicharmus (99 Kaibel, *Pap.*). Cf. Theocr. 4. 30 δῶρον ἐμίν νιν ἔλειπεν; 1. 61 αἶκα μοι τὸ φίλος τὸν ἐφίμερον ὕμνον αἰέσης. See further Chantraine (1967: §148).

733 ποτέχετ' ἐμίν

738, 772 μοι (both guaranteed).

For the use of ἐμίν in 'literary' Doric by Aristoph. cf. *Birds* 928.

Boeotian

No epigraphic evidence. Ap. Dysc. (*Pron.* 104bc) gives ἐμύ, which would be the normal result of ἐμοί (4.1.8.3). If this is taken from the text of Corinna, however, it could be a literary form.

895 ἐμοί δὲ τιμὰ.

4.2.2.1.4. Megarian: reflexive genitive (= Attic ἐμαντοῦ)

Meineke and others, assuming that the reflexive-possessive is formed from crasis of the gen. ἐμοῦ with αὐτοῦ, and comparing 790 τῶντοῦ (1.1.4), detected a phonological irregularity in the form ἐμαντοῦ (MSS), which on this view ought to be ἐμωντοῦ. There are two problems with this assumption: (i) it is not clear whether the Megarian gen. of ἐγώ would end in a vowel (Buck §118.3), and (ii) we cannot be certain that the reflexive was composed with the inflected form of the pronoun; the reflexive ἐμαντοῦ was sometimes

built on the simple stem $\epsilon\mu$ -. See further Buck §121, Chantraine (1967: §§159 f.).

817 τὰν τ' $\epsilon\mu\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ 'and my own mother' ($\epsilon\mu\omega\upsilon\tau\omega$ cj. Meineke, so Coulon).

4.2.2.2. First person plural

4.2.2.2.1. Laconian: nominative (= Attic $\eta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$)

The Attic form $\eta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ represents the inherited acc. $*\eta\sigma\mu\epsilon$ (extended to the nom. in Greek) recharacterized in Attic-Ionic with the addition of - $\epsilon\varsigma$ (the aspiration probably due to the influence of the second person pronoun, 4.2.2.4: but see Lejeune 1972: §114). West Greek recharacterized $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon$ ($\bar{\alpha}$) < $*\eta\sigma\mu\epsilon$ with - ς in the nom. Epigraphic evidence: $h[a]\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ is found in Heracleia, *IG* xiv. 645. i. 50 (Schw. 62), 4th c. Literary evidence: Ap. Dysc. (*Pron.* 118c = *PMG* 36) quotes $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ from Alcman to illustrate Doric usage. See further Chantraine (1967: §149 f.), Buck §119.2.

168 $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ ($\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ MSS); 1162 $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ $\gamma\alpha$ ($\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ R).

The personal pronouns (first and second plural) were one of the features where Attic (and Ionic) differed from the rest of the dialects; these pronouns are therefore likely to have been considered a marked peculiarity, obvious candidates for replacement when imitating other dialects.

4.2.2.2.2. Laconian, Megarian: accusative (= $\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$)

Attic-Ionic was the only dialect group to recharacterize the acc. (with an ending borrowed from nominal inflection). The common Greek pronominal form $*\eta\sigma\mu\epsilon$ gives the acc. form in West Greek ($\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$) and Aeolic ($\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\epsilon$). For the aspiration see above. See further Chantraine (1967: §150), Buck §119.5.

Laconian

Epigraphic evidence is late: $\pi\theta\theta'$ $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon$ *IG* v/1. 1145. 11, Laconia, 1st c. Ap. Dysc. attributes $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ to Doric and quotes from Sophron (21 Kaibel).

95 $\pi\theta\theta'$ $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$

1099 $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ R: $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ edd.

1244 $\chi\acute{\alpha}\mu'$ = $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ Meineke: $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ Bp, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ R, Sud.

1250 (lyr.) ἀμέ edd. (ἄμμε B, ἀμέ cett.)

1254 (lyr.) ἀμέ edd. (ἄμμε B, ἀμέ cett.)

1265 (lyr.) ἀμέ R (ἀμέ p, ἄμμε B)

See under 4.2.2.2.1 above. As a marker the accusative form is even more distinctive than the nominative.

Megarian

The form ἀμέ is not attested in Megarian until late (c.107).

759 παρ' ἀμέ: guaranteed.

4.2.2.2.3. Laconian: genitive (= Attic ἡμῶν)

ἀμῶν is not attested epigraphically in Laconian till late (2nd c., e.g. *ται πολει ἀμῶν IG v/1. 935. 7*). Cf. Ap. Dysc. (*Pron.* 121b = *PMG* 38): 'The form ἀμῶν in Doric also signifies a possessive adjective in the genitive ("of our") corresponding to ἀμός ("our"). The original pronoun ("of us") differs in its separation of vowels (ἀμέων) from the possessive, which does not admit this (i.e. diaeresis). So Alcman: ὄσσαι δὲ παῖδες ἀμέων . . .'. ἀμῶν is also attested in Alcman (*PMG* 10b.16, Pap.).

168 καὶ τῶς μὲν ἀμῶν ἄνδρας ἀμές πείσομες (ἀμῶν MSS, Sommerstein, Henderson; ἀμός Blaydes, Wilamowitz, Coulon.)

Older editors emended to ἀμός (the possessive adj., and *lectio difficilior*) on the grounds that the gen. of the pronoun in Lac. would have been ἀμέων. But it is not clear whether this conclusion is correct. See also 4.2.2.2.5 below for 1181 ἀμοῖσι.

4.2.2.2.4. Laconian, Megarian, Boeotian: dative (= Attic ἡμῖν)

For the long vowel of -ω in Attic-Ionic (and occasionally in literary Doric) see Chantraine (1967: §149 f.).

Laconian

The form ἀμιν is not attested epigraphically till late (e.g. *IG v/1. 1146. 35* = Bourguet 29, 1st c. BC). Literary evidence: ἀμιν Alcman Pap. (*PMG* 1.41, 60, 89); cf. Ap. Dysc. (*Pron.* 123b = *PMG* 37), 'Doric ἀμίν shortens the ι when the accent is retracted and it has a circumflex on the first syllable, as in αἰ γὰρ ἀμιν / τούτων μέλοι; and when it has an acute on the last syllable, as in ἀμίν δ' ὑπανλησεῖ μέλος. So Alcman.'

1081 ἀμὶν edd. (ἄμιν *p*, ἀμῖν R, ἄμμιν B): short *ι* guaranteed.

1162 ἀμὶν edd. (ἀμῖν R)

1297 (lyr.) ἀμὶν edd. (ἀμῖν R, ἀμῖν *p*, ἀμῖν B).

Megarian

No epigraphic evidence available.

832 ἀμὶν cj. Elmsley (ἀλλὰ μὶν R; ἀλλὰ μὴν Γ; ἀλλὰ μὲν cett.): short *ι* guaranteed.

Doubtful/Bad dialect

821 ἀμῖν cett., Sommerstein (ἀμῖν A, Coulon): long *ι* guaranteed.

Boeotian

The length of the *ι* is uncertain. There is no particular reason to assume that it shared the long *ι* with Attic-Ionic. The Et. Mag. (84.15) says 'The Aeolians shorten the *ι*', but this is a reference to (literary) Lesbian.

903 ἀμῖν R (ἄμιν, ἄμιν cett.)

4.2.2.2.5. Laconian: possessive adjective (= Attic ἡμέτερος)

Attic ἡμέτερος is built with a *-tero- suffix (Chantraine 1967: §§119, 160; Björck 1950: 124). There is no epigraphic evidence from Laconia; ἀμός is attested in Acragas (*IG* xiv. 952. 17 = Schw. 307, 2nd c.) του ἀμου δαμου; and Epidaurus (*IG* iv²/1. 128. 55, verse, early 3rd c.) σωμασιν ἀμοις. West Greek ἀμέτερος is late (Hellenistic). Literary evidence: χορὸς ἀμός Alcman (Ap. Dysc., *PMG* 45). The form is also found in tragic choruses.

1181 ἀμοῖσι (guaranteed).

For the long dative ending see 4.2.1.2. For the conjecture ἀμός at 168 see 4.2.2.2.3 above.

4.2.2.3. Second person singular

4.2.2.3.1. Nominative (= Attic σύ)

The inherited Greek form was *τύ*, retained in West Greek and Boeotian. The *σ* of Attic *σύ* is probably analogical on the acc. form *σε* < **τφε*. Buck (§61) and others have suggested that the difference is phonological (4.1.18 above for *τι*): but see Perpillou (1974: 400).

Laconian

Epigraphic evidence: *τυ δε τοι χαριν αἰες ἡ[υπαρχοις]* SEG 11.956, Laconia, c.550 BC. Literary evidence: *τύ* is found in Alcman (10b.8 PMG, Pap.).

1188 *τὸ*.

Megarian

For *τύ* in 'Saronic' cf. Corinthian *τυ δε δο[ς χα]ριεσ(σ)αν ἀμοιβαν* (IG iv. 212. 1, 7th c.).

775 *τὸ* Pap. (*σὺ* MSS).

777 *τὸ* cj. Kuster: *σὺ* MSS, *ται* (*συ* superscr.) Pap.

Boeotian

Epigraphic evidence: *τῶς τυ φαναχς φεφυλαχσο* Buck 37.4, 6th c. Literary evidence: *τὸν δέ* Corinna, Pap. (PMG 654 iii 44); Ap. Dysc. (*Pron.* 113b, 69c = PMG 661, 695) attributes *τού* to Boeotian and cites Corinna.

861 *τὸ* cett. (*τοι* R)

4.2.2.3.2. Megarian: accusative

Attic *σε* < **τφε*. See Chantraine (1967: §152); and Melchert (1983) for a discussion of the original form of the pronoun. For West Greek the corresponding form *τε* is attested in literary Doric, e.g. Alcman (Ap. Dysc., 70a PMG), Theocr. 1. 5, but was widely replaced by the nom. *τυ*, attested at Epidaurus (Argolic), in Epicharmus (34 Kaibel) and Sophron (81–2 Kaibel, Ap. Dysc.). Cf. *Knights* 1225: *ἐγὼ δὲ τυ ἐστεφάνιξα* (probably a quote from Eupolis *Helots*, 5.1.2.3c below). There is no evidence from the Megarid, though *σ'* is attested as early as the fifth century at Selinous (SEG 26.1115.1).

730 *ἐπόθουν τυ* (*τοι* R).

779 *πάλιν τ' ἀποισῶ* R, *πάλιν τύ γ' cett.*: *πάλιν τυ ἀποισῶ* cj. Blaydes (so van Leeuwen, Coulon). *τ'* here implies *τε*. Both MS readings could easily be explained by scribal interference.

4.2.2.3.3. Laconian: genitive (= Attic *σοῦ*)

The form is not attested epigraphically. Ap. Dysc. (*Pron.* 96b = PMG 48) gives *τέο* in a quotation from Alcman. Various forms of

the pronoun are found in literature, with and without a final -s. Theocr. has *τευ* (5. 19) as well as *τεῦς* (2. 126), Epich. has *τεοῦς* (90 Kaibel).

1174 ἐγὼν δὲ κοπρωγωγὴν γὰ [πρῶτα], ναὶ τὼ σιώ (MSS)
πρῶτα must be a gloss. Henderson suggests *πρό τευ*, Sommerstein *πρό τεο* (comparing *PMG* 48, Alcman).

4.2.2.3.4. Laconian: possessive adj. (= Attic *σός*)

West Greek *τεός* is attested in literature only. It comes from **tewo-* (Attic *σός* < **two-*). Cf. *Birds* (lyr.) 929 *τεῆ κεφαλῇ* (also 938, 906). The form is found in epic and tragic lyric, and also in Aeolic literary dialect.

1249 (lyr.) τὰν τεάν (cretic): Attic *τῇν σῇν*.

The Attic-Ionic form of this word is distinct from that in other Greek dialects, which makes it an obvious candidate to avoid in representing foreign dialect. The non-Attic form was clearly familiar from literature, and this may have contributed to its acquiring status as a non-Attic marker. For the original digamma see 4.1.13 above.

4.2.2.4. Second person plural

4.2.2.4.1. Megarian, Boeotian: nominative (= Attic *ὕμεις*)

The common Greek pronominal form was **ύσμε* or **ύσμε*, to which all dialects except Attic-Ionic added -s in the nom. to produce an ending which looked like -εs (on the analogy, presumably, of the athematic nominal declension). Attic-Ionic added -εs to the stem to produce *ὕμεις* (cf. 4.2.2.2). See further Chantraine (1967: §152).

Megarian

There is no epigraphic evidence. Ap. Dysc. (60 Kaibel = *PMG* 659) says the Doric form is *ὕμές*, and quotes from Sophron.

760 *ὕμεις αὐτῶν* (2nd syll. quantity guaranteed); 761 *ὕμεις τῶν*.

Boeotian

There is no epigraphic evidence. Ap. Dysc. (*Pron.* 119b = *PMG* 659) cites *ὀύμές* from Corinna as evidence for the Boeotian form.

862 *ὕμεις δ'*.

4.2.2.4.2. Laconian, Megarian: accusative (= Attic ὑμᾶς)

The common Greek pronominal form was *ὑσμε or *ὑσμε > West Greek ὑμέ. Attic-Ionic was the only dialect group to recharacterize the accusative (with an ending borrowed from nominal inflection: cf. ἅμέ, 4.2.2.2). See further Chantraine (1967: §152).

Laconian

West Greek ὑμέ (ῡ) is attested in Crete (*IC* I 7.3 = D³ 528, 3rd c.). Ap. Dysc. cites ὑμέ from Alcman (*PMG* 85) and Sophron (61 Kaibel).

87, 1076 ποθ' ὑμέ.

Megarian

For West Greek epigraphic and literary evidence see under Laconian above.

737 ὅς ὑμέ κα (— guaranteed); 739 γὰρ ὑμέ.

4.2.2.5. Megarian: third singular, accusative (fem.) νῡν

νῡν is used in epic, literary Doric (Alcman, Epicharmus), and lyric passages of tragedy. It is attested in inscriptions from Epidaurus (e.g. *IG* iv²/I. 121. 16, 4th c.), Laconia (*IG* v/I. 724. 4, late 3rd c.), Rhodes (*IG* xii/I. 737 = Schw. 272, verse), and elsewhere.

775 νῡν (Attic αὐτήν).

This is the only instance of νῡν in Aristophanes. There are no cases of μῡν.

4.2.3. *Demonstrative Pronouns*

4.2.3.1. The article

4.2.3.1.1. Laconian, Megarian: nominative plural τοί, ταί

While Attic-Ionic created the new forms οί, αί on the analogy of ὁ, ἡ (as did Arcado-Cypriot, Lesbian, some Thessalian dialects, and Cretan), most West Greek dialects preserved τοί, ταί. Ap. Dysc. (*Pron.* 63b = 81 Kaibel) quotes from Sophron to illustrate Doric usage. The forms are found throughout literary Doric (so Pindar, Theocritus, who also use οί, αί), and occur in tragic lyric.

Laconian

Epigraphic evidence: e.g. *τοὶ φίλοι* IG v/1. 1. A9 (Schw. 13), Laconia, 5th c. Literary evidence: *ταὶ Πεληάδες* Alcman (Pap., PMG 1. 60). *τοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι* etc., Thuc. 5. 77. 2.

173 *ἔχωντι ταὶ τριήρεις* (guaranteed); 981 *ἢ τοὶ πρυτάνεις* (guaranteed); 995 *καὶ τοὶ σύμμαχοι* (guaranteed); 999 *τᾶλλαι* (edd.; δ' ἄλλαι R, *ἔπειτ' ἄλλαι* Γ) *ταὶ κατὰ Σπάρταν* (both guaranteed); 1004 *ταὶ γὰρ*; 1099 *ἀμὲ τῶνδρες* edd. (*ἄνδρες* R) (guaranteed); 1251 (lyr.) *ὄκα τοὶ μὲν*; 1260 (lyr.) *ἦν γὰρ τῶνδρες*; 1261 (lyr.) *ψάμματος τοὶ Πέρσαι*; 1301 (lyr.) *τοὶ δὴ* (= relative); 1307 (lyr.) *πῶλοι ταὶ κόραι*; 1311 (lyr.) *ταὶ δέ*.

The nom. plur. forms *τοί* and *ταί* can be confirmed in contexts where they are preceded by a vowel, since the corresponding Attic forms would result in hiatus or crasis (Ar. does not appear to use them to make position). These common words were no doubt among the best-known markers of West Greek, and were easy to include in a representation of foreign dialect.

Megarian

Epigraphic evidence: e.g. *ταὶ δ' ἐνπιδες* Schw. 148, Meg., early 5th c.; *τοὶ* IG vii. 1. 5 (Schw. 154), Meg., late 4th c.

759 *ἄϊπερ τοὶ θεοί*.

4.2.3.1.2. Demonstrative/relative adverb: Megarian *τῶς* = Attic *ὥς*

A number of dialects use the article stem *to-* with the function of the relative (4.3.2.1): *τῶς* 'like' thus corresponds to Attic *ὥς*, which is built on the same stem as the relative *ὅς*. Megarian inscriptions, however, do not generally use the article for the relative (one example, Schw. 165g, Sel., late 6th c.). *τῶς* as a demonstrative/relative adverb (answers *πῶς*;) is found in epic and tragedy (mainly in lyric). Cf. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Agamemnon* 242.

762 *ὄκκ' εἰσβάλητε, τῶς ἀρουραῖοι μύες* (guaranteed).

Cf. *ῶς* at 766 (exclamatory).

4.2.3.2. Deictic pronouns

4.2.3.2.1. Megarian: *ταδί* (744)

A scholiast ad loc. worries that *ταδί* is not Doric. Ahrens (1839-43: ii. §33. 4) agrees and conjectures *ταδή* here ('Dorienses nunquam more Atticis familiarissimo demonstrativis iota addidisse videntur') and *τοδή* at Epich. 170.16 (*τοδ' ἥδη* Kaibel). There is no epigraphic evidence to confirm or refute. Besides Attic-Ionic, Aeolic and Arcado-Cypriot dialects have demonstrative pronouns with suffixed *-ι/-ί*. There are no instances from West Greek, though Elean does have forms of the article in *-ι* (used demonstratively; cf. Schw. 413.3 = Buck 62). See further Buck §122.

4.2.3.2.2. Megarian, Boeotian: *τῆνος* vs. (*ἐ*)*κεῖνος*

Attic-Ionic, Lesbian, and a couple of insular Doric dialects have the *k*-pronoun (*ἐ*)*κεῖνος/κῆνος*; most West Greek dialects have (unrelated) *τῆνος*, which is found in Theocritus, Sophron, and Epicharmus.

Megarian

Epigraphic evidence: *ὑπερ τηνων* Schw. 167. iii. 3, Sel., late 5th c.

754 *τηνῶθεν ἐνεπορευόμεναι*: Attic *ἐκεῖθεν* would scan (but this would entail a major interference in the text).

Doubtful/Bad dialect

820 *τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν'*: this seems to be an Attic form within an Attic idiomatic phrase. Cf. *Lys.* 240 (*Lysistrata*) for the same phrase.

Boeotian

It would not in principle be surprising to find either the *k*- or the *t*-pronoun in Boeotian; in fact a small amount of evidence points to the *k*-pronoun. Epigraphic evidence: *κεινωσ* IG vii. 2410. 13 (Thebes, perh. 4th c.). Literary evidence: a very fragmentary passage of Corinna (*PMG* 654 iv 25, Pap.) has *κεῖνο τεοῦς*.

902 *ἐκεῖ*

The disyllabic form is likely to be an Atticism. In West Greek *τηνεῖ* is attested; *κῆ* is found in E. Aeolic (Sappho 141 L-P, Athenaeus), which would correspond to Boe. **κεῖ*.

4.2.3.2.3. Boeotian: οὔτος

Boeotian generalized the stem οὔτ- throughout the paradigm. Epigraphic evidence: n. pl. οὔτα Schw. 462 A.20, B.39. Tanagra, c.200 BC. Literary evidence: τιμὰν δ[.] οὔταν Corinna (Pap., *PMG* 654 iii 41). See further Blümel §278.

898 ταῦτα (neut. plur. acc.). The Attic form is guaranteed, since οὔτα would lead to hiatus.

4.2.3.2.4. Boeotian: ὄδε

The demonstrative ὄδε is not attested in Boeotian inscriptions. Forms ending in deictic -ι and -νι are found: e.g. τοῦ *SEG* 25.504.a2, Thespieae, late 3rd/early 2nd c.; τανι *IG* vii. 1739. 5, Thespieae, late 3rd c. Demonstratives in -ν- are found in Thesalian (ὄνε), Arcadian (ὄνι, ὄνν), and Cypriot (ὄνν). These are not exact equivalents of ὄδε, however: see Lejeune (1943), Morpurgo Davies (1968: 82 ff.). Corinna (*PMG* 654 iii 27) has τόδε γέρας (most likely a literary import). See further Thumb-Sch. p. 38, Blümel §275.

Bad dialect

884 τῶδε, 895 τᾶσδε, 903 τᾶδε, 910 τῶδ'.

4.2.3.3. Interrogative/indefinite pronoun: Megarian σά < *k^w_χH₂

The form is an ancient neuter plural (cf. Lat. *quia*). Attic-Ionic τίνα was rebuilt on the derived stem τιν- taken from the acc. sg. (replacing ἄττα < -α + ττα: Chantraine 1967: §143). cf. Pindar's τά 'why' (Boeotian?): *Ol.* 1. 82 τά κέ τις ἀνώνυμον γῆρας ἐν σκοτῶ καθήμενος ἔψοι μάταν . . .; ('Why should one sit in darkness and nurse in vain old age without glory?')

757, 784 σά μάν (Attic τί μὴν).

This was no doubt a commonly known expletive which the playwright was able to borrow easily (4.3.4, 4.4.63.2).

4.2.4. Adverbial Forms

4.2.4.1. Long-vowel adverbial endings

Although the dialects use the same building blocks in the formation of these adverbs, there is a considerable amount of variation

in the composition. The picture is confused by (i) analogical contamination, (ii) phonological confusion between datives, ablatives, and instrumentals, (iii) the fact that semantic distinctions between the adverbs are not necessarily sharp.

4.2.4.1.1. Laconian παντᾶ (or παντᾶ)

Epigraphic forms of this word end in -αι, but the evidence is late and the form could be an instrumental -ᾶ in origin which was reinterpreted as a dative. The practice of modern editors varies. There is no epigraphic evidence from Laconia: cf. *Καρνείου ἐξήκο[ν]τος πανται* Dubois 185.5 (*IG* xiv. 952, Schw. 307), Acragas, late 3rd c.; Heracleian *τον δε μυχον πεντε και δεκα ποδων πανται*, *IG* xiv. 645. i. 141 (Schw. 62), 4th c. Literary Doric: παντᾶ is frequent in Pindar; also occurs in Aeschylus, Euripides.

169 πάντα MSS (also 180, 1013, 1096); 1081 πάντα Bp, παντᾶ R. (— guaranteed in all cases: παντᾶ Coulon, Wilamowitz; παντᾶ Henderson, Sommerstein).

The suspicious frequency of this expression in the play may indicate that it was regarded as a peculiarly Laconian (or Doric) idiom. It is not found elsewhere in Aristophanes, except at *Birds* 345 in lyric (with Doric colouring), meaning 'on all sides'. πάντη is rare in Attic (with the exception of Plato who uses it quite frequently).

4.2.4.1.2. Laconian ἀμά

This corresponds to Attic ἄμα with short second syllable (but cf. ἀμῆ in ἀμῆ γε πῆ).⁵⁵ The length of the final vowel cannot be confirmed in inscriptions, but the word is found in literary Doric. Epigraphic evidence: e.g. *IG* v/1. 213. 43 (Schw. 12), Laconia, 5/4th c. Literary evidence: ps-Theocr. 9. 4 χοῖ μὲν ἀμά βόσκειντο; Pindar (e.g. *Ol.* 3. 21), who also uses ἄμα; and Soph. *Antig.* 602.

999 ἄμα MSS, ἀμά edd. (not guaranteed).

1244 ἄμα MSS, ἀμά edd. (not guaranteed).

1258 (lyr.) πολὺς δ' ἀμά (ἄμα MSS) καττῶν σκελῶν ἔτο = 2 ia. cr.

1318 κρότον δ' ἀμά (ἄμα MSS) = ia.

⁵⁵ Ahrens (1839-43: ii. 372), 'Doricum ἀμά, quod pro ἄμα vel ὁμοῦ esse putatur, accuratius ab Herodiano pro ἀμῆ dicitur, quae forma nunc non legitur nisi cum potestate indefinita in ἀμῆ γε πῆ.'

4.2.4.1.3. ᾗπερ, ᾗ (= Attic ὥπερ, καθάπερ 'like, as')

καθάπερ is very frequent in Attic inscriptions, ᾗπερ much less so (these are built on a short-vowel neut. pl.). In other dialects the relative element appears in different forms: either *hā*, an original *instrum.*, or *hāi*, an original *dat.-loc.* The legalistic formulae of Cretan inscriptions provide many examples: *κατα τα αὐτα πραδεθαι τῷ μὲ ὁμοσαντος ᾗπερ αἰ κα μη λῆι δικακσαι* *IC* iv. 42. B7, 5th c.; *ἡ μη δεικσει αἰ ἐγγραφται . . .* *IC* iv. 41. 1. 10 (Schw. 181), 5th c. Cf. also Argolic *κατα ταυτα σφιν ἐστο ηαιπερ Κροσιοις* (Schw. 83 B27, c. 450).

For literary Doric usage cf. Ibycus 314 *PMG*: *φλεγέθων ᾗπερ διὰ νύκτα μακράν . . .*

Laconian

The *instrum.* form is found in *ταὐτᾶ ἡᾶτ'*, 'in such as way as' (*IG* v/1. 213. 5 = Schw. 12, Lac., 5/4th c.); but cf. also *η]αιπερ* (in *IG* v/1. 222. 4 = Schw. 9, Lac., c.500).

84 ᾗπερ *ἱαρεῖον*; 1000 ᾗπερ *ἀπὸ μιᾶς ὑσπλαγίδος* (long syll. guaranteed); 1003 ᾗπερ *λυχνοφορίοντες*; 1255 (lyr.) ᾗπερ *τὼς κάπρωσ*; 1307 (lyr.) *χᾗ τε πῶλοι* (cj. = *καὶ ᾗ*; *αἴτε* vel sim. MSS); 1312 (lyr.) ᾗπερ *βακχᾶν*; 1318 ᾗ *τις ἔλαφος*

Compare 180 *τᾶ(ι)δε* 'thus' (*τᾶδε* MSS). These forms are also found occasionally in Attic literature, but only in poetry (e.g. *Ach.* 364 ᾗπερ).

Megarian

730 ᾗπερ *ματέρα*; 759 ᾗπερ *τοὶ θεοί*.

Boeotian

There is little epigraphic evidence. *ὥς* is found as a final conjunction (*IG* vii. 3467. 4 = Schw. 441); and cf. *οὕς* (advb. of manner, *IG* ix/2. 234. 1 = Schw. 567) in Thessalian. Literary evidence: Corinna has *δώρατος ὥστ' ἐπ' ἵππῳ* ('on a plank as if on a horse', *PMG* 675a). Literary Lesbian has *ὥς* in similes (Sappho 47.2 L-P, Alc. 69 L-P).

907 ᾗπερ *πίθакον*.

It is not clear whether this is the expected form in Boeotian.

4.2.4.1.4. Adverbial $\pi\bar{a}$

There is evidence for adverbial forms in $\pi\bar{a}(\iota)$ in West Greek and possibly in Boeotian (see below). Epigraphic evidence comes from a variety of West Greek dialects (though not from Laconian or Megarian): cf. *κρεθθαι ὁπᾶι κα λειοντι* Crete (*IC* iv 72.ii.35 = Schw. 179, 5th c.); *ἀλλᾶι πᾶι* Corcyra (*IG* ix/1. 692. 127 = Schw. 139g, 2nd c.). Literary evidence: cf. Thuc. 5. 77 *βουλευσαμένους ὅπα κα δικαιοτάτα δόξῃ . . .* The forms are common in literary Doric (so Pindar, Theocritus).

See further Ahrens (1839–43: ii. §44.8); Buck §132; Chantraine (1967: §132).

Laconian

(i) $\pi\hat{a}$ 155 *τὰ μᾶλά πᾶ Γ* (πο R, *που* Sud.) (indef. particle); 171 $\pi\hat{a}$ *κά τις* ('how?'); 980 $\pi\hat{a}$ *τᾶν Ἀσανᾶν* ('where?'); (ii) $\acute{o}\pi\hat{a}$ 118 $\acute{o}\pi\hat{a}$ *μέλλοιμί γ' εἰράναν ἰδῆν* (relat. introducing condition); 1080 $\acute{o}\pi\hat{a}$ *σέλει* (indef.); 1188 $\acute{\alpha}\gamma'$ $\acute{o}\pi\hat{a}$ *τὸ λῆς* (indef.)

Doubtful

1157 $\acute{o}\breve{\pi}\bar{a}$: line 1158 (Attic) is clearly meant to echo the Laconian of 1157; but it does not necessarily follow that the Laconian form has to be the exact semantic equivalent of *οὐδέπω*. Two questions to be addressed are (i) what does $\acute{o}\breve{\pi}\bar{a}$ (otherwise unattested) mean, and (ii) is there any reason to suppose that it is incorrect Laconian? With regard to the meaning, any adverb of negation ('never, not yet, nowhere') would be appropriate in the context. LSJ give $\acute{o}\breve{\pi}\eta$ ('in no way?') as the Attic equivalent. Henderson (Introduction, xlviii) assumes that the Attic equivalent is $\acute{o}\breve{\pi}\omega$ ('not yet, never') and suggests $*\acute{o}\breve{\pi}\eta$ as the correct Laconian form. It is clear that Laconian had adverbial forms in $-\bar{a}$, $-\acute{a}$, and $-\eta$ (also in $-\omega$, but these were less common).⁵⁶ Both $\acute{o}\pi\hat{a}$ and $\acute{o}\pi\bar{e}$ are attested in West Greek; it is impossible to be certain, therefore, that $\acute{o}\breve{\pi}\bar{a}$ is not an authentic form.

⁵⁶ Cf. Bourguet (1927: 48) who comments on 'the predilection for the sound *e* in the inflection and derivation of stems in *o*' in Doric.

Megarian

732 αἰ χ' εὔρηγέ πα (indef.); 748 καρξῶ Δικαιοπόλιν ὅπα (indirect question, elliptical); 785 πᾶ δ' οὐχὶ θύσιμός ('how?' or 'why?')

Boeotian

There is some evidence for πᾶ(ι) if one accepts Blümel's sound-change /-āi/ > /-ai/ in word-final position (Blümel §246, and cf. 4.2.1.1 above). Epigraphic evidence: ὅπη (< ὅπαι): ὅπη κα φηνειτη αὐτῆς Schw. 462. A. 22, Tanagra, 3rd c. Cf. also East Aeolic ὅππα 'wherever' *IG* xii/2. 645a. 47 (Schw. 634), Nesos, late 4th c. Literary evidence: cf. Theocr. 28. 4 ('Aeolic') ὅππα Κύπριδος ἱρον; Sappho 2. 2 L-P.

895 πᾶ γενήσεται; ('how?' or 'where?')

4.2.4.1.5. Megarian: adverbs in [-o:]/-ω

Adverbial forms in -ω may have different origins: (a) the termination often derives from an old ablative, as in literary Doric ὦ ('whence', Theocr. 3. 11), τῆνῶθε ('thence', Theocr. 3. 10), πῶ ('whence?') Sophron 125 Kaibel, Aesch. *Aga.* 1507 lyr.), etc. Hesych. has πῶ· πόθεν, ὁπόθεν. Δωριεῖς. Cf. epigraphic *hoπō* 'wherever, from wherever', Jameson *et al.* (1983) B2-3, Sel., 5th c. (i.e. ὅπω = ὁπόθεν edd. ad loc., p. 41). (b) Elsewhere it may have its origin in an instrumental (e.g. οὔπω, Schwyzler *Gr. Gr.* 550), or (c) a 'directive' (ἄνω, Sihler 1995: 258). See further Buck §132.8.

ὦδε 'hither' is found in Doric literature, e.g. Epicharmus 34 (Kaibel), Theocr. 1. 151. It is also found in Homer; in Attic it is confined to tragedy (there is an instance at *Birds* 229 in lyric).

745 ὦδ(ε) ('hither')

754 τῆνῶθεν (= Attic ἐκεῖθεν, 4.2.3.2.2): the isolated -ω ending seems to represent an old ablative in τῆνῶθεν. The long vowel in ὦδε may go back to an old 'directive' or instrumental (stem *yo- or *so-).

Doubtful

821 ὅθενπερ: cf. Lejeune (1939: 250).

4.2.4.2. Megarian: allative suffix -δης

Forms in -δης are found in literary Doric (Epicharmus 35.13 Kaibel); they are also found in Homer (which indicates their

presence in East Greek at some stage). But Thuc. 5. 77 has οἴκαδ' ἀπιάλλην. See further Chantraine (1948: §§78, 113).

742, 779 οἴκαδς.

4.2.4.3. Laconian, Megarian: temporal adverbs in -κα

West Greek and Boeotian have -κα where Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cypriot have -τε in ὅτε, τότε, and πότε.

Laconian

The Laconian forms are in line with the other West Greek dialects: cf. (epigraphic) πῆποκα IG v/I. 213. 5 (Schw. 12), Laconia, 5/4th c.; ὅκκα (= ὅταν, from ὅκα + κα) IG v/I. 962. 26 (Schw. 44), Laconia, 2nd c. Literary evidence: ὅκα and πόκα found in Alcman (Athenaeus, *PMG* 20.3, 17.1: cf. D. L. Page 1951: 152 f.). Also in Theocritus. Although these forms are familiar from literary Doric, they do not appear in tragic lyric.

105 ποκά; 1251 (lyr.) ὅκα.

Megarian

ἡοκα (perh. = ὅκα + κα) is attested in a lead tablet from Selinous (Jameson *et al.* 1983: A8, B12, 5th c.).

754 ὅκα; 762 ὅκκ' εἰσβάλητε (= ὅκκα from ὅκα + κα): not guaranteed (Attic ὅταν).

4.2.5. Prepositions

4.2.5.1. Laconian, Megarian, Boeotian: apocope

The disyllabic prepositions of Attic (e.g. ἀνά) often appear in the other dialects as monosyllables, with the final vowel or syllable missing (thus ἄν). The prepositions below could be considered separately as lexical items, but this would miss the general impression that some dialects apocope while others do not (and among those that do there are differences). Apocope of prepositions, though alien to Attic-Ionic (see Threagte 1980: 410), is common elsewhere, especially in the cases of ἀνά, παρά, κατά, and ποτί. Norms governing apocope vary from dialect to

dialect, and apocopated forms of ἀπό, ἐπί, and ὑπό are rarely found outside Thessalian. See further Buck §95.

Laconian

In West Greek *κατά* and *ποτί* undergo apocope for the most part only in front of dentals, which usually means in front of the article. Bourguet (1927: 55) argued that in Laconian *κατά* became *κατ* in front of all consonants (as in Aeolic and Arc.-Cyp.), but the evidence for such extended apocope in Laconian is limited to positions before β, μ, κ, π, and these in compounds only (D. L. Page 1951: 117).

περί underwent apocope in proper names in Laconian (cf. *Περφιλα*, *IG* v/1. 209. 22, and Bourguet 1927: 110 n. 1); prepositional use is not attested in inscriptions. But cf. *περισκαψει*, *περικοψει* in the Heracleian Tablets, i. 173.

Epigraphic evidence for *άν*, *κατ*, *παρ*, *ποτ*:

άν ταν *IG* xiv. 645. i. 148 (Schw. 62), Heracleia, 4th c.

Διος Καβατα *IG* v/1. 1316 (Schw. 55), Laconia, 5th c. (= *καταβάτης*, Bourguet 1927: 55)

καθαλαθαν *SEG* 26. 461, Laconia, 5/4th c. (= *κατὰ θάλασσαν*)

παρ Δοριεος *IG* v/1. 1521 (Schw. 39.4), Laconia, 5th c.

πο(τ) τον *IG* v/1. 1. 3 (Schw. 13), Laconia, 5th c.

Literary evidence: Alcman has *κάβαινων* (58.2 *PMG*, Hephaest.), which is guaranteed by the metre.⁵⁷ Thuc. 5. 77 has *καττάδε*, *ποττώς*. Various glosses in Plutarch; e.g. *καββαλόντες* (*Lysander* 14). Apocope is quite frequent in Pindar, Theocritus. See further Thumb-K. §§81.2, 94.2.

(a) *άνά*

106 *φρούδος ἀμπτάμενος* *ἔβα* (cf. Attic poetic *ἀμπέταμαι*: e.g. Eur. *Andr.* 1219).

171 *ἀμπείσειεν* (*άν πεισ-* MSS).

1002 *άν γάρ τάν πόλιν* (cf. 3.1.2).

1096 *ἀμβαλώμεθα* (*ἐμ-* MSS).

1309 (lyr.) *ἀμπάλλοντι* (cf. poetic Attic *ἀμπάλλετε*, *Frogs* 1358)

1310 (lyr.) *ἀγκονίωαι* (cj. Dindorf, but MSS forms begin *ἀγκον-*).

⁵⁷ One might expect *καββ-* in this case. D. L. Page (1951: 116f.) argues that *κατά* is shortened (in Lac.) to *κα-* before β in compounds. There are parallels for this such as Hesych. *κάβασι*: *κατάβηθι*. *Λάκωνες* (assuming the tradition is trustworthy).

1316 παραμπύκιδδε (cf. poetic Attic ἀμπυκάζω).

Bad dialect

1099 ἀναπεφλασμένως MSS (ἀμ- edd., not confirmed by metre).

(b) κατά

1259 (lyr.) κατῶν σκελῶν (καὶ κατῶν B, καὶ κατὰ τῶν cett.): iamb.

Doubtful

999 κατὰ Σπάρταν (guaranteed, though κατὰ may have undergone apocope in this position in Laconian; see above).

(c) παρά

183 πάρφαινε μάν.

1301 (lyr.) πὰρ Εὐρώταν (τοὶ δὲ πὰρ Εὐρ-, iamb.).

1308 (lyr.) πὰρ τὸν Εὐρώταν (hypodochmiac - υ - - -).

Bad dialect

156 παρανιδῶν (or παραιδῶν): guaranteed; both παρφιδῶν and παριδῶν are ruled out by the metre. Cf. 4.1.19 above.

174 παρὰ τῇ σιῷ (παρά MSS): πὰρ edd., not confirmed by metre.

(d) ποτί

117 κα ποττὸ Ταῦγετον ἄνω.

1006 σπονδὰς ποιηῶμεσθα ποττὰν Ἑλλάδα.

1253 (lyr.) ποττὰ κάλα (trochee).

1264 (lyr.) ποττὰς σπονδὰς (2 × spondee).

Cf. 82 ποτὶ πηγάν (not followed by a dental consonant).

(e) περί

984, 1101 περί: not subject to apocope outside of compounds.

Of the nineteen forms in the text liable for apocope fifteen show the appropriate form. Unfortunately none of the instances in iambic metre can be guaranteed.

The choice of prepositions for apocope is accurate; the author knew which prepositions appeared in West Greek, or specifically in Laconian, in a shortened form and which did not. The exceptions are not very significant; in the case of παρανιδῶν there is a conflict between the possibility of showing digamma and that of showing apocope. The digamma prevailed, perhaps because digamma was considered a more heavily 'marked' feature than apocope, or because there are more opportunities elsewhere in the text for showing apocope than for showing digamma. κατὰ is more interesting; if Bourguet is right, Ar. may not have known that a shortened form appeared in Laconian alone among the West Greek dialects.

Megarian

Megarian inscriptions show apocope of *ἀνά* and *ποτί* (also *παρά*, *κατά*). There is no evidence for apocope of *περί* in Megarian (cf. *περι των τοπων IG* vii. 188. 9, Meg., mid 3rd cent.). Epigraphic evidence (late) for *ἀν*, *ποτ*: *ἀγγραφαι* frequent, e.g. *IG* vii. 4. 12, Meg., 4th c.; *ποττὰν πόλιν IG* vii. 207. 10, Meg., late 3rd c. See further Thumb–K. §§81.2, 134.12.

(a) *ἀνά*

732 *ἄμβατε*.

766 *ἄντεινον*.

796 *ἄν τὸν ὀδελόν*: probably guaranteed, since (see following) three tribrachs in a row would be unusual.

796 *ἀμπεπαρμένον* (MSS *ἐμπεπαρμένον*): resolution unlikely, given *ἄν τὸν ὀδελόν* in the same line. For the Attic equivalent cf. *Ach.* 1007 (Dikaipolis) *ἀναπείρω τὰς κίχλας*.

(791 *ἀμπαχυνθῇ* cj. Wilamowitz, so Coulon: 4.4.2.)

(b) *ποτί*

732 *ποττὰν μάδδαν* (*ποτὶ τὰν* c); 751 *ποττὸ πύρ*; 783 *ποττὰν ματέρ'*.

(Both *ποτί* and *πρός* would scan in the above lines).

Bad dialect

791 *κ' ἀναχνοϊανθῇ*: absence of apocope confirmed by metre.⁵⁸

Of the seven forms in the text liable for apocope all but one show the appropriate form. The only case that can be guaranteed by the metre is the non-dialect form (791), although adding two tribrachs to 796 can probably also be ruled out. Despite the relatively small sample one can see that the choice of prepositions for apocope is accurate and consistent.

Boeotian

Apocope of *παρά* and *κατά* (before dentals) is attested. Epigraphic evidence is late: *κατ ταν IG* vii. 3207 (Schw. 448), Orchom., late 3rd c.; *παρμειναντα παρ ταν IG* vii. 3083. 10 (Schw. 509), Lebad., 3rd c. See further Thumb–Sch. §238.6.

Bad dialect

861 *κατάθου*: an Attic form.

⁵⁸ The word (a *hapax*) is in any case suspicious. Attic has *χνοάω*, later Greek *χνοάω*. This may be a comic formation based (as Starkie suggests) on assimilation to *παχυνθῇ*.

4.2.5.2. Megarian: *äv* (Attic *äv*)

The only epigraphic evidence comes from Tauromenion (Sicily, settled by Syracusans): *äv* *ἐπιδε[κατου]* Dubois 187.9, 2nd c. This may have been a form peculiar to West Greek; but *äv* is attested in Laconian: *SEG* 26. 461. 11, Laconia, 5/4th c. The form occurs in later poetry (e.g. Lycophron trag. 350 N., 3rd c.), which suggests that it was part of the tradition of literary Doric.

834 *κäv* (all MSS)

Doubtful

798 *äv* MSS, *avē* [Pap. (*äv* Sommerstein, Coulon)]

Compare *Lys.* 143 for 'Laconian' *äv*.

4.2.5.3. Laconian, Megarian: *ēs* vs. Attic *ēs*

Attic has *ēs* < *ēs*. Other dialects have *ēs* (Ionic, some Doric) or *ēs* (Argolic, Cretan); except for North-West Greek dialects, which (along with Boeotian, Thessalian, and Arcadian) preserve *ēs* with the acc. On *ēs* and *ēs* in the Aristophanic text see Austin (1973: 133).⁵⁹

The text of Homer generally has *ēs* (unconfirmed) before a consonant and *ēs* with a vowel (*ēs* when metrically convenient). Theocr. uses both *ēs* and *ēs* in all types of idyll: 'Doric' (1. 63, 1. 130), 'Aeolic' (28. 15), and 'Ionic' (25. 44, 25. 107). Pindar uses mostly *ēs*, but sometimes *ēs*; and there are a handful of instances of *ēs* with the acc. Tragedians used *ēs* when convenient, and instances in Aristophanes are paratragic (see Rutherford 1881: 432). See further Sobolewski (1890: 34–63); K–G i. §325.4; Buck §§78, 135.4; Threutte (1980: 178).

Laconian

It is most likely that Laconian had *ēs* in common with various other Doric dialects, though Bourguet (1927: 84 f.) discussed the possibility of *ēs* with accusative (with North-West Greek and Arcadian), and considered the issue open. Epigraphic evidence: Heracleian texts have *ēs*. Data from Sparta are scarce and ambiguous; e.g. *ἐλ Λακεδαιμονα* D³ 1069. 8 (Schw. 19), Laconian

⁵⁹ '*ēs* is alien to ordinary comic dialogue.'

(found at Olympia), 316 BC. A fragmentary text from Sparta has $\kappa\epsilon\varsigma \chi\omicron[\rho\omicron\nu - - -$ in the (tentative) reconstruction of W. Peek (*SEG* 26. 464b, c.500). Literary evidence: $\epsilon\varsigma$ in Alcman (Pap., *PMG* 1.16, 1.73); in both cases before vowels and confirmed by metre. Also in Thuc. 5. 79 $\epsilon\varsigma \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\nu$ (but Thuc. generally uses $\epsilon\varsigma$). The evidence of other authors does not help in fixing what the epichoric form at Sparta was, but indicates what the 'literary' forms of the preposition were.

1244 $\epsilon\varsigma \tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma$.

Megarian

Megarian has $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. This is no doubt an areal phenomenon (compare the treatment of secondarily lengthened vowels); also found in Corinthian.

Epigraphic evidence: e.g. *IG* vii. 8. 14 (Schw. 155), Meg., early 3rd c.; and see the *Index verborum Megarae* s.v.

745 $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ R, $\epsilon\varsigma \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ cett.

Doubtful

745 $\epsilon\iota\sigma\beta\alpha\lambda\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ MSS ($\epsilon\iota\sigma\beta\alpha\lambda\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ edd.).

762 $\epsilon\iota\sigma\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon$ MSS ($\epsilon\iota\sigma\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon$ Suda, edd.).

This feature is so prone to corruption that not much can be said in the case of forms unsupported by the metre. The text as it stands shows signs of someone trying to make Megarian look less like Attic (and more like literary Doric?).

4.2.5.4. Boeotian: $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\acute{\omicron}\pi\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon$ 'behind'?

No epigraphic evidence available. Ap. Dysc. (*Adv.* 153) ascribes $\acute{\omicron}\pi\iota\sigma\theta\alpha$ for $\acute{\omicron}\pi\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$ to 'Aeolians and Dorians', and quotes a line $\acute{\omicron} \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\xi}\acute{\omicron}\pi\iota\sigma\theta\alpha \kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, without saying from whom he is quoting (no doubt Sappho or Alcaeus). Hesych. has an unhelpful entry, $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\xi}\acute{\omicron}\pi\iota\sigma\theta\alpha$: $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\omicron}\pi\iota\sigma\omega$. In both cases the υ suggests an Aeolic dialect (cf. $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\sigma\omega$, Sappho 19 L-P, Pap.); but cf. 5.1.4.2, where $\acute{\omicron}\pi\iota\tau\theta\omicron\tau\iota\lambda\alpha$ 'back-fouler' is given as the Boeotian word for 'cuttlefish'. The word has a close connection with Doric/Aeolic $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\theta\alpha$: see Lejeune (1939: 348–56).

868 $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\xi}\acute{\omicron}\pi\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon} \mu\omicron\nu$ (absence of $-\nu$ guaranteed).

4.2.5.5. Laconian, Megarian: *ποτί* (Attic *πρός*)

ποτί is the usual form in West Greek, Thessalian, and Boeotian. See further Buck §§61.4(a), 135.6.

Laconian

ποτί is attested frequently in inscriptions in both full and apocopated forms: e.g. *IG* v/1. 1317. 5 (Schw. 54), Laconia, 4th c. It is found in Theocritus, Pindar (along with *πρός*). *ποτῶς* at Thuc. 5. 77.

82 *ποτί* (guaranteed); 87 *ποθ'*; 95 *ποθ'*; 117 *ποττό* (apocope); 206 *ποτόδδει*; 1006 *ποττάν* (apocope); 1076 *ποθ'*; 1253 *ποττά* (apocope); 1264 *ποττάς* (apocope).

For apocopated forms in the Aristophanic text see 4.2.5.1 above.

Megarian

ποτί is the normal form of the preposition: e.g. *ποτ* *IG* vii. 207. 10, Meg., late 3rd c.; *ποτι* D³ 349.2, Olympia (Byz.), late 4th c.

732 *ποττάν*, 733 *ποτέχετ'*, 751 *ποττό*, 783 *ποττάν*.

4.2.5.6. Laconian: *σύν* and *ξύν*

σύν is normal; *ξύν* is largely confined to early Attic and Homer (cf. Myc. *ku-su-*), though there are also instances in early Ionic literature (not Herod.). *σύν* was the usual form in Attic inscriptions by the end of the fifth century: cf. Threatte (1980: 553 f.). Examples: (epigraphic) *συνοδοις* *IG* v/1. 255. 2 (Schw. 16), Laconia, early 4th c.; *συνμαχ[ιαν]* *SEG* 26. 461, Laconia, 5/4th c.; (literary) Alcman (papyrus and quotations in Athenaeus) has *συν-*. Thuc. 5. 77 and 79 has over a dozen instances of *ξυμ-* (MSS in complete agreement); but (alone of the Attic prose writers) he uses the *ξ-* form consistently throughout his work. See further Dunkel (1982).

995 *συμ-*, 1265 (lyr.) *συν-*, 1269 (lyr.) *συν-*.

Doubtful

93 *ξυν-* MSS (so Wilamowitz; *συν-* Coulon, Henderson, Sommerstein)

No very coherent picture of the use of *συν/ξυν* emerges from the

text of Aristophanes as we have it. ξυν- in 93 is unexpected. In his work as a whole σύν is three to four times as common as ξύν in cases where the metre can be used as a check (figures from Sobolewski 1890: 32–4); there is no easily discernible pattern behind the distribution. This may be the result of confusion between the two forms in the last quarter of the fifth century (followed by uncertainty during transmission). Most of the instances of the word occur in compounds; prepositional use of σύν was very restricted in Old Comedy (paratragic, or in fixed phrases). μετά was the general preposition for ‘with’.

4.2.6. Verbs

4.2.6.1. Personal endings

4.2.6.1.1. Laconian, Megarian: first plur. active ending -μες

Corresponding to Attic-Ionic and Aeolic -μεν, West Greek dialects have -μες. This ending is found in Alcman (e.g. *PMG* 1.12 *παρήσομες*), and in Theocritus (e.g. 15. 15 *λέγομες*). Pindar, however, keeps -μεν (a feature of his native Boeotian). See further Thumb–K. §80.4.

Laconian

West Greek -μες: e.g. (epigraphic) *συνμετρησαμες IG* xiv. 645. 11 (Schw. 62), Heracleia, 4th c.; (literary) cf. Xen. *Hell.* 1. 1. 23 (an intercepted Laconian message): *ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρᾶν*.

168 *πείσομες*; 1002 *μογίομες*; 1003 *ὑποκεκύφαμες*; 1077 *ἔκομες* (-μεσθ' [θ del.] R); 1098 *πεπόνθαμες*; 1148 *ἀδικίομες*; 1162 *λῶμες* (*λῶμεσθ'* R); 1164 *βλιμάδδομες*; 1304 (lyr.) *ὑμνίωμες*.

An attempt has been made to ‘normalize’ the endings (1077, 1162) in the manuscript tradition by adding θ. This has also happened in the case of -μεθα endings (1096, 1164: 4.1.16), where one can conjecture an original Lac. spelling -μεσα. -μεσθα would have been familiar to scribes, being used by poets for metrical reasons.

Megarian

West Greek -μες: e.g. (epigraphic) *νικῶμες IG* xiv. 268. 2 (Schw. 166), Sel., c.450 BC.

750 *ἔκομες* (-μες Pap.; -μεν MSS); 751 *διαπεινώμες*.

In 750 the papyrus shows the correct reading in the face of an Atticized (or epicized) form in the manuscript tradition.

4.2.6.1.2. Megarian: 2nd person sing. οὐ χρῆσθα (778)

There is no evidence from inscriptions (2nd person forms are rather rare anyway).

This personal ending is an original ending of the IE perfect: it spread from οἶσθα and ᾗσθα to be used as a poetic ending of the present in Homer (e.g. τίθησθα). There are some odd optatives in Theognis (715 εἴησθα, 1316 ἔχοισθα) which may reflect the influence of epic or Aeolic (cf. Sappho 129 L-P, Alcaeus 58. 28 L-P). See further Chantraine (1967: §343, 1948: §223).

A strange verbal form (cf. 4.4.60 below).

4.2.6.1.3. Laconian, Megarian, Boeotian: third person sing./plur. active ending.

The inherited third-person endings, singular (athematic) -τι and plural -ντι, change in Attic-Ionic and certain other East Greek dialects to -σι and (with consequential changes) -νσι. They were retained in West Greek, Boeotian, and Thessalian. See 4.1.18 above, and Buck §61.

Laconian

Third-person sing. -τι: e.g. (epigraphic) ἔχοντι Heracleia, *IG* xiv. 645. i. 99 (Schw. 62), 4th c.; (literary) Alcman αἰνέοντι (*Ap. Dysc.*, *PMG* 38.3); also Pindar and Theocritus. Thuc. 5. 77. 2 εἴκωντι. See further Thumb-K. §79.4.

1309 (lyr.) ἀμπάλλοντι; 996 ἐστύκαντι; 173 ἔχωντι (-οντι MSS); 1005 ἐώντι; 1305 (lyr.) μέλοντι; 1301 (lyr.) ψιᾶδδοντι.

Megarian

Third-person sing. -τι: e.g. (epigraphic) τιθητι *IG* vii. 1. 14 (Schw. 154), Meg., late 4th c.

771 οὐ φατι (φασι R).

Boeotian

The Boeotian 3rd pl. ends in -νθι in the Classical period (from the third century BC -ντι is found). The traditional view⁶⁰ has been

⁶⁰ e.g. Schulze (1924: 399). García-Ramón (1975: 65) argues that the endings in

that the aspirated endings started in the verb 'be', where **έντί* (**senti* or **esenti*, Sihler §492) became *ένθί* due to a switch in the aspiration.

Examples (epigraphic) *συνεβαλονθο* Schw. 467.21 (Buck 40.21), Thebes, mid 4th c.; (literary) *ένθί* Corinna (Pap., *PMG* 692 fr. 3. 9).⁶¹

Doubtful

3rd pl. of 'be' (= Attic *είσι*): 902 *έντ' έκει*

The text as it stands appears to give a West Greek ending.

4.2.6.1.4. Laconian *ήν* (= Attic *ήσαν*, third plur. imperfect of *είμι*) West Greek *ήν* is the normal development of original **ē-ent* (Hom. *ήεν*, Skr. *āsan*); Attic-Ionic has recharacterized the form with *-σαν* from the *s*-aorist. *ήν* is used for the 3rd singular form in Attic, replacing the expected *ής* (retained in West Greek), for which see Masson (1978). Epigraphic evidence: the form is attested in various West Greek dialects (but not Laconian). Literary evidence: Epicharmos 46 (Kaibel): *ήν δ' έρωδιοί τε πολλοί*. See further Buck §163. 3, 4.

1261 (lyr.) *ήν γάρ τώνδρες ούκ έλάσσως* (= sp. ith.)

4.2.6.2. Infinitives

4.2.6.2.1. Laconian, Megarian: athematic infinitive

Whereas in Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cypriot athematic verbs have an infinitive in *-ναι*, most West Greek dialects, along with Boeotian and Thessalian, have *-μεν*. See further Thumb-K. §93.28; Buck §154.

Laconian

Athematic infin. in *-μεν*: e.g. (epigraphic) *άνι[σ]ταμεν* *IG* v/1. 1317. 6 (Schw. 54), Laconia, 4th c.; *έκδομεν* *IG* v/1. 5. 12, Laconia, early 2nd c.; (literary) *ήμεν* Alcman (Pap., *PMG* 1.45), *άποδόμεν* Thuc. 5. 77. 3. Also Pindar, Theocritus.

-νθ- were created on the analogy of the first and second (middle) plural endings *-νθα* and *-νθε*. Blümel, however, (§§171-3) suggests that the writing *θ* indicates a phonological development of *-ντι* (palatalization of *t*/).

⁶¹ For Corinna's authorship of this see M. L. West (1970: 278 f.).

1163 λῆ τοῦτ' ἀποδόμεν (-δῶμεν R): guaranteed.
(Attic -διδόναι or aor. -δοῦναι)

Megarian

Athematic infin. in -μεν: e.g. (epigraphic) εἶμεν *IG* vii. 4. 7, Meg., 4th c.

741 δοξεῖτ' εἶμεν ἐξ ἀγαθᾶς ὕος (εἶμεν Dindorf; ἤμεν/ῆμεν MSS); Attic εἶναι is metrically impossible.

771 χοῖρον εἶμεν. ἀλλὰ (εἶμεν Dindorf; ἤμεν MSS); Attic εἶναι is metrically impossible.

Bad dialect

775 τὸ δέ νιν εἶμεναι τίνος δοκεῖς; (εἶμεναι R, a, Pap. [ῆμεναι Γ]; εἶμεν αὖ Ahrens); a disyllabic form is ruled out by the metre.

Non-Attic infinitive forms are guaranteed in all three cases. But the situation is complicated by an oddity among the 'dialect' forms: εἶμεναι in 775. No form like this is known from any inscription; it seems to be a purely literary confection on the basis of epic ἔμμεναι (from east Aeolic). Alcman, allegedly, has ἔδμεναι (Athenaeus, *PMG* 42). In Thuc. 5. 77. 6 the form ἀλεξέμεναι is found; but so are the expected forms εἶμεν, δόμεν, and ἀπιάλλην. Ruijgh⁶² suggests that εἶμεναι may be a realistic attempt to represent linguistic convergence (i.e. εἶμεν + Attic εἶναι) on the part of the Megarian. But the depiction of linguistic convergence in literary dialect is rare.

4.2.6.2.2. Boeotian: thematic infinitive

Thematic and athematic infinitives in Boeotian have the same ending -μεν: e.g. (epigraphic) ἀγίρεμεν, καταγγελλεμεν *IG* vii. 4136. 4, 6 (Schw. 545), c. 180; (literary) κριδδέμεν, Strattis *Phoenissae* (*PCG* 49); φ]έρεμεν, Corinna (Pap., *PMG* 654 i 20). But literary sources also give forms with -ειν, which represent either an Atticism (Eubulus, 5.1.4.1 below) or literary dialect (Corinna, *PMG* 654 iii 34). Cf. Bernardini (1984), whose view, however, rests on an early date for Corinna. See further Buck §155.1; Blümel §§223–6.

947 θερίδδειν: Attic form guaranteed by metre.

⁶² Pers. comm. ap. Colvin (1995: 44 n. 24).

It is odd that this relatively simple feature with which to mark the Thebans' speech was not exploited.

4.2.6.3. Laconian, Megarian: aorist and future in -ξ- of verbs in -ζω

Verbs in -(á/l)ζω were originally built on either velar or dental stems; the former added aorist and future endings to stems in -ξ-, the latter to stems in -σ-. West Greek dialects tended to generalize the -ξ- forms: aorist in -ξα, future in -ξέω (4.2.6.4). Attic and Ionic preserved the difference but used -σα forms for those -ζω verbs which were analogically built on other presents (e.g. ἐλληνίζω) and did not have a velar or dental stem.

Laconian

Aorists and futures in -ξ-: e.g. (epigraphic) τοι μὲν ἐρίζαντες ἀπεσταν, τοὺς δὲ ἐδικαζάμεθα . . . *IG* xiv. 645. ii. 26 (Schw. 63), Heracleia, 4th c.; (literary) cf. *Knights* 1225 ἐστεφάνιξα (a quote from Eupolis? 6.3.2). Alcman (ἀρμόξατο *PMG* 95b, Athenaeus). So also Pindar (beside forms in -σ-), Theocritus.

See further Thumb–K. §§80.7, 93.21; Buck §142.

93 συναλίξε (guaranteed); 981 μυσίζαι; 1243 διποδιάξω (διποδι' ᾄξω Bp).

Doubtful

106 πορπακισάμενος (guaranteed; note the presence of intervocalic -σ-, 4.1.11).

Arena (1971: 22) suggests that -σα may be the result of preventive dissimilation in verbs with a velar in the stem immediately preceding the affix (as also 739 σκεύασας, Megarian), but admits that this is uncertain.

Megarian

Aorists and futures in -ξ-: e.g. (epigraphic) διορίζας Jameson *et al.* (1983) B11 (Sel., 5th c.). See further Thumb–K. §§80.7, 133.20; Buck §142.

746 γρυλιξείτε καὶ κοῖξετε: κοῖξετε is guaranteed, which is interesting in view of the non-Doric future form.

Doubtful/Bad dialect

739 χοίρους γὰρ ὑμεῖς σκεύασας (guaranteed).

750 ἀγορασούντες edd. (ἀγοράσσοντες R, ἀγοράσαντες a): -σ- guaranteed.

4.2.6.4. Laconian, Megarian: the West Greek ('Doric') future in -σ(ε)-

Laconian

The so-called Doric future was built with a *-se-* suffix instead of the usual *-s-* suffix. A common view is that in Laconian the future suffix alternated between *-se-* before an *e*-vowel in the ending (i.e. 2nd, 3rd sing. and 2nd plur.) and *-s-* before an *o*-vowel (since there is no sign of the *e* in the 1st and 3rd plur. endings *-σομες* and *-σοντι*): cf. D. L. Page (1951: 123 ff.) and Thumb-K. §80.5. Méndez Dosuna (1993a) has suggested that the *-se-* suffix does not in fact alternate; the *e* is hidden in the 1st and 3rd plur. as a result of synizesis before an *o*-vowel followed by absorption of the yod into preceding *s* (i.e. *-seo-* > *-seo-* > *-sjo-* > *-so-*). In cases where there is no preceding *s*, the loss of a syllable will (on this view) have been counterbalanced by 'compensatory' lengthening of the remaining syllable if it is an open syllable (cf. Heracleian pres. ptcpl. *μετριωμεναι*, where *ι* denotes synizesis and *ω* represents a lengthened *o*). Cf. 4.1.6 above. Epigraphic evidence: [ἐ]σσονται IG v/I. 3. 7, Laconia, 5th c.; cf. *ποταξοντι, παρhexονται, ἐσσονται* etc. in Heracleian tablets. Literary evidence: Alcman has forms which are in line with the above: e.g. *παρήσομες* (Pap., PMG I.12). The MSS of Thucydides (5. 77. 7 and 79. 2) have *ἐσσούνται*, which editors, following Ahrens, have emended to *ἐσσίονται*.

1013 ποτάδμαι edd.: *πωτάδμαι* R, *ποτάομαι* Γ. This form continues either a future suffix in *-s-*, or a suffix in *-se-* followed by synizesis, absorption of yod into the *s*, and finally loss of intervocalic *s*.

Doubtful/Bad dialect

183 δμώμεθα MSS (δμιόμεθα cj. Elmsley, so Coulon); see also 4.1.6(b) above for the phonology.

The stem of the verb is *δμο-* (<**H₃emH₃-*); in Attic one might expect (beside 1st sg. *δμούμαι* < **δμο-σ-ομαι* and 1st plur. *δμούμεθα* < **δμο-σ-ομεθα*) a 3rd sg. **δμούται* < **δμο-σ-εται*. The 3rd sg. *δμείται* must be an innovation, and is likely to be analogical on paradigms like *ὀλούμαι, ὀλείται* (< **ὀλε-ο-μαι, *ὀλε-ε-ται*): cf.

Chantraine (1967: §295). There would have been no grounds for a similar analogical process in Laconian;⁶³ *ὀμῳμέθα* cannot therefore be the result of an earlier **ὀμε-σε-ομέθα* (Elmsley's *ὀμῳμέθα* assumes that Aristophanes simply Doricized the segment *ου* as though it came from *ε + ο*). If *ὀμῳμέθα* is the right reading, the ending *-ῳμέθα* would be simply a hyper-Doric form (with or without synizesis).⁶⁴ For the future indic. here, which leaves *ὦς* ambiguous between manner in which and a final conjunction, see Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses* §§312, 565.

Megarian

Megarian, like most West Greek dialects, had a sigmatic future in *-se-* which contracted with a following *e*-vowel; when an *o*-vowel followed, the *e* (*a*) remained uncontracted, or (*b*) was raised to *ι*, or (*c*) contracted to *ου*, probably under *koinē* influence: e.g. (epigraphic): *διδάξουντι* D³ 349.2, Byzant. (at Olympia), late 4th c.; *τερμον[ιξ]ου[ν]τας* IG iv. 926. 8 (Schw. 157), Megarian (Epidauros), mid 3rd c.

(i) Future active and middle

739 *φασῶ* (difference in accent only).

741 *δοξεῖτ'* (Attic *δόξετ'*).

742 *ἰξεῖτ'* R (*ἦξετ'* A, *ἰξετ'* cett.) (Attic *ἦξετ'*).

743 *πειρασεῖσθε* (Attic *πειράσεσθε*).

746 *γρυλιξεῖτε* (Attic *γρυλιεῖτε*?).

747 *χῆσεῖτε* RBC (*χῆσειτε* EΓ, *χ'ήσετε* A) (guaranteed: Attic *χῆσετε*).

748 *καρυξῶ* (difference in accent only).

779 *ἀποισῶ* RE²Γ², Pap. (*ἀποίσω* A) (difference in accent only).

787 *ἔξει* E²Γ²j (*ἔξει* cett.) (difference in accent only).

Doubtful/Bad dialect

746 [*γρυλιξεῖτε*] καὶ κοῖξετε (both forms guaranteed; the second is not a contracted 'Doric' future in spite of the *-ξ-*).

⁶³ Cf. Ruijgh (1975: 85), 'il est bien possible . . . qu'après les contractions, l'attique ait remplacé **ὀμοῦται* (< **ὀμό-ε-ται* < **H₃emH₃-se-*) par *ὀμείται* sous l'influence du type autrement fréquent *ὀλείται* (< *ὀλέεται* < **H₃elH₁-se*), puisque la forme contracte *ὀμοῦμαι* (< **ὀμό-ο-μαι*) y a la même finale que le type *ὀλοῦμαι* (< **ὀλέ-ο-μαι*). Cependant, cette action analogique n'est pas possible en dehors de l'attique, puisque le résultat de *εο* n'y coïncide pas avec celui de *οο* . . . ' Cf. Hauri (1975: 92-4), and for a different view Ruipérez (1950: §IV).

⁶⁴ *ὀμῳμέθα* (MSS) can be scanned *~ - ~* or *~ - ~*.

750 ἀγοράσονται RE²Γ²j, ἀγοράσαντες α (ἀγορασούντες edd.) (Attic ἀγοράσονται).

792 ἔσται: appears to be the Attic form, confirmed by metre. (Meg. ἐσσεῖται? cf. ἐσσουμαι D³ 360.18 [Chers. Taur., early 3rd c.] which, however, shows *koine* influence: see Buck §278.)

The position of the accent is often the only way of telling whether a future form is a 'Doric' (contracted) one or not. It is certain that accents were not written by Aristophanes, so they cannot tell us whether he intended a dialect form or not (but they can tell us what the people who edited the text thought that he intended).⁶⁵ Of twelve forms, only one is guaranteed as a 'Doric' future by the metre (as against two guaranteed Attic forms). On the whole, however, MSS give the Doric form. This is true also of the accents, which indicates that editors were interested in having dialect forms in the text.

4.2.6.5. Megarian: future passive

The form of the future passive was not stabilized in the epichoric period, even within the individual dialects. West Greek dialects had a form in -ησέω (~ aor. pass. in -ην); then -θησέω, -θήσομαι and -θησέομαι with the spread of *koine* influence (4th c.). Epigraphic evidence is scarce and late: ἀντεθησείται (*IvK* 20: 12.22 = D³ 1009, Chalc., 1st c.) is a late form with 'Doric' vocalism; cf. ἀναγραφῆσ[ει] *IG* xii/1. 1031. 11 (Carpathos, 2nd c.). See further Wackernagel (1890); Chantraine (1967: §299).

Doubtful

783 ποττὰν ματέρ' ἐλκασθήσεται: this form is either an Atticism on the part of the poet, or an Attic-influenced Megarian form.

4.2.6.6. Aorist tense

4.2.6.6.1. Laconian: subjunctive of sigmatic aorist

In Attic the long-vowel subjunctive of thematic stems was generalized to the sigmatic aorist; some dialects, however, preserve the original short vowel (including Eastern Ionic and Eastern Aeolic,

⁶⁵ For the general absence of dialect accentuation in the text see 4.1.20 above. For Attic futures in [-se-] in Aristophanes see Walker (1894).

Cretan, and Cyrenaean). There is no epigraphic evidence from Laconia; evidence from Messenia and Heracleia is somewhat ambiguous, since some short-vowel forms appear in the 3rd sing., alongside long-vowel forms in the 3rd plur: e.g. ἀρτυσωντι IG xiv. 645. i. 106 (Schw. 62), Heracleia, 4th c., ἀρτυσει ibid. 107 (same sentence). The short-vowel forms may be the result of a phonological change (cf. 4.2.1.1 for a proposed similar development in Boeotian). See further Buck §150; Thumb-K. §§104.14, 114.9a.

1006 ποιησόμεσθα RG; ποιησώμεσθα B; ποιηῶμεσθα Blaydes.

(1243 διποδιάξω; 1243 κἀείω edd., 4.1.17).

The manuscripts seem to support a short vowel subjunctive in 1006. But no firm conclusions can be drawn about a single form, especially when the epigraphic evidence is so unclear.

4.2.6.6.2. Boeotian: aorist of αἴρω/ἀείρω

Since Boeotian inscriptions frequently retain intervocalic -f- until the second century (4.1.19), the Boeotian present stem of this verb would probably have been *ἄφειρ- (cf. Alcaeus ἀέρρω, Alcman αὖειρομέναι). The 2 sg. aor. mid. of αἴρω (Attic ἤρω) and *ἄφειρω will have been *ᾠφερ-σα-σο. It is difficult to say what this would have become in Boeotian (Meister 1882: i. 281 gives ᾠραο, which assumes the early disappearance of -f-).

Doubtful

913 ἤρα (ἡῖρ- R, ἡρ- cett.): 2 sg. aor. mid.

ἤρα of the MSS is best interpreted as an attempt to add dialect colour to the Attic form (but we might expect the initial ἡ(ι)- to be written εἰ-, 4.1.2.3). For the vowel of the ending see 4.1.4.1 above.

4.2.6.6.3. Boeotian: aorist imperative πρίασο (870)

For the imper. cf. με ξυλλεῖω (< *-λεγεσο) 'do not gather (wood)', Ducat (1971: 252.1), Ptoion, 5th c.

πρίασο is the imperative to the aorist ἐπριάμην (no pres.). In Attic the standard form seems to have been πρίω (e.g. *Ach.* 34, 35). Epicharmus (137 Kaibel) has πρίᾱ. Aorist imperatives in -σο are found in tragedy; this is a poetic licence, and the same explanation may apply here.

4.2.6.7. Laconian: perfect tense ὄπωπα 1157, cf. 1225 (?)

There is no evidence in inscriptions or from the text of Alcman. Theocritus 4. 7 (ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀπώπει) could be due to epic. Tsakonian has *oráka* < *éoraka* (Schwyzer 1939: 779, Pernot 1934: 249 f.).

Attic *éōpāka* is ruled out by the metre in both cases. ὄπωπα is not used in Attic prose: it is found in Homer, tragedy, and Herodotus, but not found elsewhere in Aristophanes. The MSS and modern editors assign 1225 to an Athenian: Wilamowitz assigned it to a Laconian. If it belongs to an Athenian there is no case for arguing that it was still colloquial in Laconian (Thumb-K. §88). Aristophanes does not usually put poetic forms into ordinary trimeters. If it is not authentic, it may have been given to a Spartan on the grounds that many Laconian idioms sounded poetic and archaic to Athenian ears.

4.2.6.8. Boeotian: present participle medio-passive ἀδικεῖμενος

The medio-passive participle in *-ειμενος/-ημενος* is a feature of North-West Greek, and is probably analogical on the infin. *-εῖσθαι* (cf. Méndez Dosuna 1985: 499 ff.). Its appearance in Boeotian, if genuine, would be an areal feature. But the epigraphic evidence is lacking: in *IG* vii. 2858. 3 δει[]μενοῖς there is a break in the stone which leaves it unclear whether a letter is missing. Méndez Dosuna argues that the form did not exist in Boeotian, and concludes that Aristophanes borrowed it from North-West Greek.⁶⁶ Hock (1972: 169, 189) also concludes that *ἀδικεῖμενος* is a North-West Greek form; he suggests (p. 186) that the anomalous *δειμενοῖς* (< **δειομενοῖς* from *δειε/ο-*, not a contract e-verb) exhibits a special development **-ēo-* > **-ē-* in an open syllable.

Lesbian and Thessalian conjugated 'contract' verbs athematically (cf. *ποειμενος* Schw. 636.8, Tenedos, c.150 BC, and Alcaeus 117b.21 *ποήμενοι*); but there is no evidence for this in Boeotian

⁶⁶ 1985: 494, '... es verosímil que Aristófanes tomase por beocio algún rasgo del gr. nordoccidental. Delfos por su proyección panhelénica o Acarnania por sus tempranas relaciones con Atenas desde la Guerra del Peloponeso son los puntos desde los que con mayor probabilidad el part. *-ειμενος* pudo llegar a oídos de Aristófanes.'

apart from the assertions of ancient grammarians. See further Blümel §181; Thumb-Sch. §237.16.

914 ἀδικείμενος (a, Pap.; ἀδικούμενος B; ἀδικήμενος cett.) = Attic ἀδικούμενος.

This form, if not genuine Boeotian, may be a feature of North-West Greek. It does not merely characterize the Theban's speech as different; as a marker of north-central Greek it denotes the speaker's provenance in a vague way (it would have been far less appropriate for a Laconian). The dialect mixture of this region of Greece would no doubt have made it all but impossible for an Athenian to be precise about minor isoglosses. For *ει* and *η* in Boeotian see 4.1.2.3.

4.2.7. Laconian, Megarian, Boeotian: Final -ν (*nu ephelkystikon*)

Final -ν in verbal forms is not generally found outside Attic-Ionic until the *koine* period. It appears occasionally in the dative plural in earlier texts, presumably on the analogy of pronominal datives (ἀμύν etc.). See further Kuryłowicz (1972); Buck §102.

Laconian

This is not a characteristic of Laconian.

Epigraphic evidence: (i) Nouns. Two prevocalic examples from Laconia can be explained by the fact that they are both in verse: Διοσκοποῖσιν ἀ[γαλμα IG v/1. 919. 2 (Schw. 38, Laconia, 6/5th c.); παλιν ὁρην IG v/1. 225. 4 (Schw. 16, Laconia, 4th c.). The Heracleian tablets already show ἐντασσι before a consonant (IG xiv. 645. i. 104 = Schw. 62, late 4th c.). (ii) Verbs: cf. ἀνεθεκε Ἀθαναια[ι] in verse, IG v/1. 213. 1 (Schw. 12), Laconia, 5/4th c. There is an unexpected early instance in ἀνεθεκεν Taras, late 6th/early 5th c. (cited by Santoro 1973: 109).⁶⁷ Literary evidence: for discussion of Alcman see D. L. Page (1951: 113); final -ν is found to prevent hiatus, but not for the sake of lengthening a syllable.

⁶⁷ Cf. the review of Santoro (1973) by Bile *et al.* (1988: 110): 'Ce trait, réputé ionien-attique, se rencontre pourtant, comme le souligne l'auteur, à haute époque dans d'autres dialectes, notamment dans certains parlers nord-occidentaux, au datif pluriel.'

171 τις ἀμπεύσειεν αὐ; 980 ἐστὶν ἁ γερωχία; 1249 (lyr.) οἶδεν ἀμέ;
1255 (lyr.) ἄγεν ᾄπερ

Doubtful

1257 (lyr.) ἦνσει,/ πολὺς MSS: ἦνσεεν cj. Wilamowitz

This is a feature which lies at the intersection of literary and epichoric dialect, and it is doubtful whether it makes much sense to describe the present case as an 'Atticism'. If the problem occurred to Aristophanes, he may have been unwilling to break the rules of the verse and allow hiatus. And even if he had done so the -ν would soon have been added to the manuscript tradition.

Megarian

Bechtel (ii. 180 f.) quotes epigraphic ἀγωσι οἷς (Schw. 154.14, c.306) and accuses Ar. of letting his Megarian 'sin against his dialect' in the first line. *Nu ephelkystikon* is occasionally found in other (non-Attic) dialects in the dat. plur.: e.g. ἐμ πασι τοῖς ἀγωσιν οἷς ἁ πολὺς . . . (Schw. 153.16, Meg., c.307).

729 Μεγαρεῦσιν φίλα (RB; -σι cett.): to make position.

773 μῆ'στιν οὗτος: to avoid hiatus.

786 ἐστιν: ἀλλά: to avoid hiatus.

What is curious about 729 is that -ν, while guaranteed by the metre, is not required to prevent hiatus. The language may be signalling some literary or parodic reference (i.e. is not a marker of Attic nor of Megarian, but is performing a different sort of function: see Rau (1967: 145) for the tragic and paratragic motif of a greeting addressed to a place); or perhaps the playwright simply used a familiar metrical device (as with Boeotian below) without thinking about the dialect.

Boeotian

Nu ephelkystikon is not generally regarded as a feature of Boeotian. Epigraphic evidence: there is an early attested instance of -ν in a verbal form: SEG 35. 408 Ἀλεχσομενος μ' ἀνεθεκεν (c.550 BC). But the ed. pr. (Petrakos 1984: 313) indicates that the inscription occurs on the base of a statue made by an Athenian sculptor, which would explain the anomalous form. Furthermore the drawing of the inscription (p. 314) indicates that the letter shapes (viz. the Λ and the Σ) are Attic rather than Boeotian. CEG i. 329 ἀνεθεκεν Ἀθῶναι can be explained in terms of literary

language.⁶⁸ There is a parallel from Thessaly: ἀνθηκεν McD. 168 (mid 4th c.). Blümel (§25 n. 9) describes this as 'auffallend' but offers no explanation.

Literary evidence: Corinna uses -ν when it is metrically convenient: cf. D. L. Page (1953: 51).

873 ἐστὶν ἀγαθά: to avoid hiatus.

900 Βοιωτοῖσιν δέ (RB; -σι cett.): to make position (cf. 4.2.1.2).

4.2.8. Morphology: Conclusions

Many of the forms listed under this heading could just as well have been put under 'Lexicon', since it is clear that they were borrowed from West Greek as (whole) 'words': they are not Attic forms which have undergone morphological recharacterization. This is true, for example, of many pronominal and demonstrative forms.

4.2.8.1. Laconian

A number of words can be confirmed by the metre. Most are consistent with a good representation of the dialect; there are at least two (πρέσβεις, πορπακισόμενος) which are not authentic Laconian, and a couple which are doubtful (ἐπη, ὄπωπα).

A non-Attic inflectional pattern is confirmed by πρυτάνιες and τριήρεις. Pronominal forms are consistently given in their Laconian forms, and a number can be confirmed by the metre. In Attic the personal pronouns (especially the first and second plural) were peculiarly characteristic of the dialect, and may have been perceived as such. Most instances of the article τοί/ταί are confirmed. A guaranteed aorist in -ξ- (93) is counterbalanced by a guaranteed absence of -ξ- in πορπακισόμενος. The athematic infinitive in -μεν is confirmed by the metre. Apocope of prepositions is a consistent marker of Laconian speech; none of the instances is supported by the metre, but the presence of apocopated forms in the manuscripts is relatively unlikely to result from scribal interference (a less easy change than simply altering a vowel or a consonant).

⁶⁸ I am grateful to Professor A. Schachter for these references.

4.2.8.2. Megarian

A number of words are confirmed by the metre, of which most seem to be appropriate to Megarian. Pronouns are consistently given in forms appropriate for Megarian, and some are guaranteed by the metre. A couple of Doric futures are confirmed, as well as two Attic forms (and the rare *εἰκασθήσεται*). A future in -ξ- is guaranteed, counterbalanced by the aorist *σκευάσας*. Aristophanes' use of the apparently non-existent *εἴμεναι* is interesting; it presumably sounded vaguely archaic and literary, and therefore suitable for a speaker of Doric.

The metre supports one of the many cases of apocope (796) that the text presents (cf. Laconian above). The one unshortened form that the metre confirms illustrates that, having adopted apocope as a general marker of Megarian, Aristophanes was willing to leave one Attic form in the text in order to say what he wanted: an apocopated form *ἀγγνοιαυθῆ* would be awkward to accommodate in iambic verse.

4.2.8.3. Boeotian

Genuine markers of Boeotian (e.g. the personal pronouns) are not confirmed by the metre. A number of Atticisms are, however, confirmed: these include *ὅσοι/ὅσ'*, *ταῦτα*, and the infinitive -ειν. The inflection of *i*-stem nouns (880) shows a non-Attic inflection, but the form of the acc. plur. is not the one that appears in epigraphic sources. Likewise in *ἀδικεῖμενος* and *ἐντ'* we find, apparently, substituted non-Attic forms which are not in fact Boeotian, but possibly North-West Greek and West/North-West Greek respectively.

4.3. SYNTAX AND USAGE

4.3.1. Prepositions: differences in usage

4.3.1.1. Cases governed: Megarian, Boeotian *παρά* + acc. = Lat. *apud*

Attic would more naturally use the dative in this sense; cf. *Ach.* 980 (*οὐδὲ παρ' ἐμοί ποτε τὸν Ἀρμόδιον ᾔσεται*). *παρά* with the accusative may represent a dialect variation in grammar.

Megarian

Epigraphic evidence suggests that *παρά* in the sense of L. *apud* took the accusative in Megarian and other West Greek dialects: e.g. διατριβων παρα τομ βασιλεα IG vii. 5. 1, Meg., c.300.

759 παρ' ἄμὲ πολυτίματος

The Scythian in *Thesm.* uses the same construction (1193 παρ' ἐμέ). See Rennie's note (ad loc.) for more parallels and discussion.

Boeotian

παρά in this sense is commonly followed by the acc. instead of the dat. in Boeotian: e.g. ἃ συγγραφος παρ φιφιαδαν (Schw. 503a, Coronea, c.200 BC).

Doubtful

903 ὃ τι παρ' ἄμιν μή 'στι

Contrast Megarian above.

4.3.1.2. Usage: Laconian, Megarian *ἀνά* (with acc.)

ἀνά in a local sense is confined to poetry in the fifth century; it appears in Ionian prose (Herodotus). It is found occasionally in fourth-century writers, but is mostly restricted to phrases of a non-local nature (*ἀνὰ κράτος* Xenophon, *ἀνὰ λόγον* Plato). It is similarly absent from Attic inscriptions.

Laconian

The preposition is found in the Heracleian inscriptions (e.g. *ἀν τως ὁρως* IG xiv. 645. ii. 32 = Schw. 62, 4th c.).

1001 f. *ἀν γὰρ τὰν πόλιν / . . . ὑποκεκύφαμες*

Megarian

796 *ἀν τὸν ὀδελὸν ἀμπεπαρμένον* edd. (*ἐμπεπαρμένον* MSS)

Aristophanes does not use *ἀνά* elsewhere except in choral passages or paratragic lines, with one exception: *Frogs* 554 *ἀν' ἡμωβολιαῖα*, which is not locative but distributive ('[meat] at twenty half-obol portions a time', tr. Dover ad loc.). This distributive use is the one generally found in Attic when the preposition is employed (e.g. Andoc. *De myst.* 38. 10), and Dover is right to reject the suggestion (e.g. by Stanford) that the metic's Attic is faulty. The instances above stand out, therefore; but it is impossible to

say whether the playwright thought he was reproducing a contemporary feature of West Greek, or simply employing a 'marked' usage familiar from poetry.

4.3.1.3. Laconian: locative use of the dative (without preposition)

1298 (lyr.) κλέωά τὸν Ἀμύκλαις σιόν

The locative use of the dative was not of course productive in Attic. There was a limited set of place-names that could be employed in the dative without a preposition, and these forms (*Μαραθῶνι* etc.) may thus be regarded as equivalent to adverbs: an impression which is reinforced by the reflection that in the *Umgangssprache* it can hardly have mattered much that *Μαραθῶνι* (*Ach.* 696) is a dative while *Μεγαροῖ* (*Ach.* 759) is, synchronically, a morphological oddity. In poetry more freedom (i.e. productivity) was permitted: thus Soph. *OT* 900 (lyr.) ἐς τὸν Ἀβαῖσι ναόν.

From an Attic perspective the present form is a poetic usage (Bers 1984: 95 f.), and should not, syntactically, be regarded as a marker of epichoric dialect since there is no reason to believe that in West Greek the dative was in productive use as a locative without preposition. However, in a wider sense the usage can be said to characterize the speaker as a Laconian if, as Wackernagel (1926-8: ii. 221-5) argued, the limited set of place-names that the Greeks used without prepositions varied from locality to locality. This seems entirely likely: there is no reason why Laconians should have been in the habit of using dative/locative forms of the Attic demes, but their own local place-names could have been used in this way, and τὸν Ἀμύκλαις σιόν might thus have sounded both alien and appropriate to Attic ears.

4.3.2. Uses of the article

4.3.2.1. Laconian, Boeotian: the article as relative

Whereas Attic assigned relativizing function almost exclusively to the pronoun *ὅς* < **yoś*, other dialects also used the 'article' pronoun *ὁ/ἡ/τό* < **so* / **sā* / **tod* to greater or lesser degrees; in Attic this was a marker of high poetry (e.g. in tragedy; Bers 1984: 6 f.). See further Buck §126.

Laconian

The evidence for the relative in Laconian is mixed, but on the whole suggests that *ὅς* was more frequent.

Epigraphic evidence: (Heracleia) *ἐπι τον ἀντομον τον διαταμνοντα τως χωρως, τον ἐταμομες ἐκ τω . . . IG xiv. 645. ii. 65* (Schw. 62), 4th c. But note that the *ὅς* relative is also attested, and more frequently, in the Heracleian tablets. For the use of the relative pronoun in Laconia cf. *SEG* 26.461.9 *το[ν αὐτον] φιλον και τον αὐτ[ον ἐχθρον] ἔχοντες τον περ [και Λακε]δαιμονιοι . . . 5/4th c.* There are several other examples of this relative in inscriptions from Laconia, but no instances of the article with relative function.

Literary evidence: cf. Thuc. 5. 77. 7, *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐσσοῦνται, ἐν τῷ περ . . . ἐντί.* There are no examples of the article as relative in Alcman, but plenty of examples of the *ὅς* relative (e.g. *PMG* 1.41, Pap.). In Epicharmus the article is frequently used as relative. So also Pindar, Theocritus.

1301 (lyr.) *Τυνδαρίδας . . . , τοὶ δὲ παρ' Εὐρώταν ψιάδδοντι*

1305 (lyr.) *Σπάρταν ὑμνίωμες, τᾷ σιῶν χοροὶ μέλοντι*

Doubtful

1164 *τὰν Πύλον, τᾷσπερ πάλαι δεόμεθα* (cj. Elmsley: *ᾗσπερ* Wilamowitz): MSS have *ὥσπερ*.

The use of this relative is interesting, as it raises the possibility that Aristophanes, although aware that both were possible in Laconian, chose to use the article because it was more highly marked from the point of view of Attic (but it should be noted that both transmitted examples are in lyric).

Boeotian

The evidence is mixed, but on the whole suggests that *ὅς* was more frequent. The text of Corinna has only the **yos* relative (e.g. *PMG* 654 iv 51 *ὅς*, Pap.). See further Blümel §288, Thumb-Sch. §237.12(e).

870 *πρίασο τῶν ἐγὼ φέρω*: guaranteed.

It is worth noting that Aristophanes has used the more marked form (i.e. the one that was alien to Attic), when this seems to have been the less common form in Boeotian. The Lesbian poets generally use the article-relative (see Bowie 1981: 105 f.); it is not impossible that this could have influenced the playwright. But

the compressed grammar of the phrase makes it a special use of the relative,⁶⁹ and one should perhaps not read too much into it.

4.3.2.2. Megarian: anaphoric use of article

761 ποῖα σκόροδ'; ὕμεις τῶν ἀεί . . . τὰς ἀγλῖθας ἐξορύσσετε (τῶν R, ὦν cett.: cjj. γῶν Ahrens, ὦν Reiske)

There seems no option here but to take τῶν as equivalent to αὐτῶν (in the preceding line). This is hardly normal in Attic; examples in tragedy are presumably influenced by epic/Ionic dialect (Aesch. *Suppl.* 358, Soph. *OC* 742, Eur. *Alc.* 204). The presence of this usage in literary Doric may have led to its being considered a regional as well as a stylistic variant; whether it was in fact heard in epichoric Doric is impossible to say. For parodic use (of oracular style) cf. *Birds* 973 (ὄς δέ κ' . . . τῷ δόμεν), *Kn.* 1039 (τὸν σὺ φυλάξαι).

4.3.3. Conditional clauses

4.3.3.1. Laconian: alleged 'Doric' condition: αἶ + κα + indicative

ὦ πολυχαρεῖδα, δεινά γ' αὖ πεπόνθαμες,
αἶ κ' εἶδον ἀμὲ τῶνδρες ἀμπεφλασμένως. (1098-9)

If these two lines are interpreted as a straightforward conditional clause (unfulfilled, along the lines of 'we should be in trouble if they had seen us . . .') then grammatical problems arise with regard to the potential particles; we want one in the apodosis and not in the protasis. Various solutions have been proposed to avoid this difficulty;⁷⁰ but a better interpretation is that of Wilamowitz,

⁶⁹ For an Attic parallel cf. Thuc. 6. 40: ἀμαθέστατοι ἔστε ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ἑλλήνων.

⁷⁰ A special Doric and epic condition was cited by K-G §577.2(b) to explain this passage along with (a) *Il.* 23. 526 and (b) the oracle at Herod. 1. 174. With regard to (a), Chantraine (1953: §415) suggests that the text is faulty. (b) is in any case suspicious, since the oracles were given in a pseudo-epic idiom and were no doubt creatively rephrased as they were passed on. The parallel between these and *Lys.* 1099 is not perfect anyway, since both have an additional κα in the apodosis (naturally, in an unfulfilled condition). Howorth (1955) defends the passage and quotes others to support his view that ' . . . a Greek, when speaking and writing his own language, could very naturally insert into a subordinate clause an αἶν or κε which he intended to be taken with the verb of the main clause, particularly if the subordinate clause expressed a condition'. Dover (1957: 94) is critical, on the grounds that 'the context shows that the condition is unfulfilled'. An alternative is to emend the text (e.g. swapping γ' and κ'); this was suggested by Enger and Ahrens among others.

who took the first line as a simple statement and the second line as a causal clause introduced by *ai* (an idiom commonly employed with expressions of emotion, and thus associated with the word *δενός*; cf. Thuc. 6. 60. 4, Antiph. 6. 29). This has the advantage of making line 1098 more contextually appropriate (it is a reply to an Athenian remark in 1097). It leaves the problem of *κ'* in 1099, which can be taken either as *aik* (an unattested by-form of *ai*), or as an intrusive particle attracted by the hypothetical form of the phrase (illustrating what Gow called 'Doric freedom in the use of *ει κε/ ει κα*').⁷¹ Modern editors since Wilamowitz have printed *aik* rather than *ai κ'*. See 4.4.2 below for discussion of whether this is the best solution.

4.3.3.2. Megarian: non-use of modal particle

ἀλλ' αἰ παχυνθῇ κἀναχνοιανθῇ τριχί,
κἀλλιστος ἔσται χοίρος Ἀφροδίτα θύειν. (791–2)

The modal particle (Megarian *κα*) is dispensed with in this sentence. Attic would have *ἐὰν παχυνθῇ . . . κἀλλιστος ἔσται*. Cf. Theoc. 1. 4 for normal Doric usage:

αἶκα τῆνος ἔλῃ κεραὸν τράγον, αἶγα τὸ λαψῆ.

There are examples from Homer of this type of condition without a potential particle (Goodwin, *Syntax* §201):

Il. 22. 86 *εἴ περ γὰρ σε κατακτάνῃ, οὐ σ' ἔτ' ἐγὼ γε κλαύσομαι*

Other instances outside Attic are: Theognis (121, 321), Pindar (*Ol.* 6. 11, 4. 266); and Thuc. 5. 79. 3, 4. The particle is occasionally omitted in tragedy, which is no doubt due to the Homeric and Doric precedents: Soph. *Aj.* 496 ff. *εἰ γὰρ θάνῃς σὺ καὶ τελευτήσας ἀφῆς, / ταύτῃ νόμιζε καμέ τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρᾳ / . . . δουλίαν ἔξεν τροφήν*. Cf. also *Knights* 698 with Neil's note ad loc.

The use of the particle in this type of clause seems to have been slightly freer outside Attic. Bechtel (ii. 40) quotes examples from North-West Greek: *αἰ τις . . . ἀνχῶρεῖ* Schw. 362.26 (but other conditions in this inscription have *ai κα*).

⁷¹ Gow (1952) on Theocr. 2. 118–28; cf. on 11. 73.

4.3.3.3. Laconian, Megarian: word-order in conditional clauses
Attic (along with Aeolic and Arcado-Cypriot) places the potential particle before *τις* (ἐάν *τις* etc.); West Greek places *τις* before *κα*, though literary Doric sometimes reverses the word-order: Theocr. 11. 61 αἶ κα *τις* σὺν ναὶ πλέων ξένος . . ., Epich. 35. 5 (Kaibel) καὶ κα *τις* ἀντίον τι λῆ τήνῳ λέγειν . . . See further Wackernagel (1892: 369 ff.).

Laconian

Word order: (epigraphic) αἶ δε *τις* κα . . . *SEG* 26.461.16, Laconia, 5/4th c.

171 πᾶ κά *τις* ἀμπεύσειεν: guaranteed.

Megarian

Word order: cf. εἰ τίνα κα συνωμοσίαν αἰσθῶμαι . . . Schw. 173.44, Chers. Taur., c.300 BC; αἶ *τις* κα λῆ Jameson *et al.* (1983) B7 (Sel., 5th c.).

835 αἶ κά *τις* διδῶ: word-order not confirmed by metre.

In both cases the Attic word-order of the phrase points to a piece-by-piece substitution of dialect forms, or an echo from literary Doric.

4.3.4. Laconian, Megarian: the particle μάν

This asseverative or adversative particle was more common in Doric dialects than its equivalent in Attic. The use of μήν with imperatives is not an Attic usage (cf. Attic δῆ). It occurs in epic, and 'Doric' passages of tragedy: e.g. Soph. *OC* ἔπειο μάν; Sophron (26 Kaibel) ἴδε φίλα. θάσαι μάν. Use of the particle with an imperative is a literary/colloquial usage which is not likely to turn up in inscriptions. See further Denniston (1954: 331).

Laconian

No epigraphic evidence available.

183 πάρφαινε μάν

Cf. 144 ὅμως γα μάν, 170 γα μάν, 206 καὶ μάν.

Megarian

No epigraphic evidence available.

757, 784 *σά μάν*; 765 *ἀλλὰ μάν καλά*; 771 *ἀλλὰ μάν . . . περὶδου μοι*

The interjection *σά μάν*; seems to have been a stereotypical marker of Megarian speech (4.61.2). Cf. 733 *ἀκουέτε δή*.

4.3.5. *οὐ/ναί* used without *μά* in oaths/asseverations

In Attic *ναί* in oaths etc. is followed by *μά*: cf. *Lys.* 1181 *ναὶ μὰ Δία*. Epigraphic evidence for the dialects is missing (this is a literary or colloquial usage).

Laconian

There is no epigraphic evidence for the use of *ναί* in Laconian. It does not occur in Alcman. The usages below are also found in tragedy and in Epicharmus; also in Theocritus. Cf. *Wasps* 1437 (Philocleon imitates a Sybarite, 5.3.1.1 below).

(i) *οὐ*

986, 990 *οὐ τὸν Δί' οὐκ ἐγώνγα*; 1171 *οὐ τὼ σιώ*.

(ii) *ναί*

81, 86, 90, 142, 983, 1095, 1105, 1174, 1180 *ναὶ τὼ σιώ*; 206, 988 *ναὶ τὸν Κάστορα*.

ναί here seems to be equivalent to Attic *νή*. *οὐ* and *ναί* in oaths may be regarded as stereotypical markers of Laconian (especially set phrases like *ναὶ τὼ σιώ*).

Megarian

No epigraphic evidence available.

730 *ναὶ τὸν φίλιον*; 742 *ναὶ τὸν Ἑρμᾶν*; 767 *ναὶ Δία* Tr. (*νή* R, *ναὶ μὰ cett.*); 774 *ναὶ τὸν Διοκλέα* cett., Pap. (*νή* R); 779 *ναὶ τὸν Ἑρμᾶν* cett., Pap. (*ναὶ μὰ Γ²j*); 798 *ναὶ τὸν Ποτειδᾶ*

Boeotian

No epigraphic evidence available.

867 *νεὶ τὸν Ἰόλαον*; 905 *νεὶ τὼ σιώ* (? *θιώ* Blaydes: 4.1.16 above, with note)

4.4. LEXICON AND IDIOM

4.4.1. Laconian, Megarian: *ἀές*, *αἰές*, *ἀεί* 'always'

Attic *ἀεί* (Ionic and early Attic *αἰεί*) is the result of a locative in *-i* of an *s*-stem (**aiw-os/es-*): forms in *-s* derive from an endless loc. of the same stem. See further Buck §133.6, Chantraine (1967: §§69. ii, 77).

Laconian

ἀεί is the usual form at Heracleia, though *ἀές* also occurs (*IG* xiv. 645. i. 134, 4th c.). *αἰές* is now attested in Laconia: *SEG* 11.956 (c.550). Literary evidence: Alcman has *αἰέν* (*PMG* 14a.2, probably a literary form: see D. L. Page 1951: 152). Theocritus has *ἀεί* ('Aeolic'), *αἰέν*, and *αἰεί*.

1266 (lyr.) *αἰές* *εὐπλοπος* (MSS; *ἀές* edd.): final *-s* is guaranteed, to prevent hiatus.

There is no compelling reason to emend the text now that *αἰές* has been found in a Laconian inscription. The difficulty with the metre (which seems to require a short syllable) can be overcome if one assumes a phonetic reduction of the first syllable (4.1.9).

Megarian

ἀεί is attested (but late: *IG* vii. 12. 10 = Schw. 156, Meg., c.300).

751 *ἀεί*: long first syllable guaranteed.

761 *ἀεί*: short first syllable guaranteed.

The different quantities of *a* need not be related to dialect; both are found in Attic (Lejeune 1972: §264 with n. 1).

4.4.2. Laconian, Megarian, Boeotian: *αἰ* (Attic *εἰ*)

αἰ is the normal form in the West Greek dialects and Aeolic.

Laconian

Epigraphic evidence: e.g. *αἰ* *δε τις κα* *SEG* 26.461, Laconia, 5/4th c. Literary evidence: *αἰ* found in Alcman (e.g. *PMG* 1.46, Pap.) and all literary Doric (so Pindar, Theocritus). *αἰ* appears in the 'oracles' given out by the oracle-monger in *Birds* (977-9).

1105 καὶ λῆτε edd.; καλεῖτε R (καὶ λῆτε Σ^R); 1162 αἰ.

Bad dialect

105 καὶ ἐκ (< καὶ ἐάν) R; καὶ κ' ἐκ edd. This is a rather bold emendation by editors.

Doubtful

1099 αἰ κ' ἴδον R; αἰκ εἴδον (or εἶδον) modern editors after Wilamowitz.

Owing to the syntactic difficulties of having the potential particle κ' in what looks like the protasis of a conditional clause (4.3.3.1), and because of unhappiness about the elision (see 4.4.24 for literary Doric κᾱ), many read αἰκ here as a by-form of αἰ. αἰκ is not actually attested, but postulated on the example of Arcadian εἰκ (in Schw. 654: 16, 23 *EIKAN* and 20 *EIK EIII*). There are a number of possible explanations⁷² for the origin of Arc. εἰκ next to εἰ: (a) it may be due to analogy with οὐ : οὐκ, as has often been suggested; (b) it may be the result of contamination between κε and αἶν (so Wilamowitz in *Lys.* ad loc.); (c) Forbes (1958) and Palmer (1962) preferred to segment epigraphic *EIKAN* as εἰ-καν, and sought ways to explain καν (objections by Dunkel 1990, Gallavotti 1992). The last explanation (c) is the least plausible, if, as seems likely, Arc. shared original αἶν with Attic; and it will not work for Lac. since this dialect has neither αἶν nor καν. The easiest solution is to print αἰ κ' with intrusive/pleonastic κ'.

Megarian

αἰ is the normal form in Megarian. Epigraphic evidence: αἰ κα λῶντι Schw. 165g.4 (Sel./Olympia), 6th c.; *SEG* 13.311.1, Megara, 5th c.

732, 766, 772, 773, 788 (εἰ R, αἰ cett.), 791 ἀλλ' αἰ Ahrens (ἀλλ' αἶν R, Pap., αἰ δ' αἶν vel. sim. cett.), 814, 835.

Bad dialect

742 εἴπερ MSS

Boeotian

The Boeotian form is αἰ, which was later written ῆ (4.1.8.2).

Bad dialect

870 εἰ

⁷² Summarized by Dubois (1988: i, §132), whose conclusions, however, are rejected by Hodot (1990).

4.4.3. Laconian: 988 (f)ἀλεός

The word means 'mad'. Cf. *Od.* 14. 464: οἶνος γὰρ ἀνώγει / ἡλεός, and *DELG* s.v. ἡλεός. The α in the Aristophanic form may be long; in this case -εο- will scan as one syllable (synizesis). The word was not in use in colloquial Attic, and may have been a Spartan gloss. See 3.4.1 for the rho in παλαιορ (R), and 4.1.19 for other MS readings.

4.4.4. Boeotian: 869 ἀπέκιξαν (no obvious Attic equivalent)

The sense is 'they have made [the flowers] fall off': Hesychius has ἀπέκιξαν: ἀποπείσεν φυσῶντες ἐποίησαν. Cf. also 4.2.6.3 above.

4.4.5. Laconian: ᾶς (= Attic ἔως)

ᾶς < *ᾶφος (4.1.4.2, 4.1.19 above for the phonology).

Cf. (epigraphic) *has* Heracleia, *IG* xiv. 645. i. 100 (Schw. 62), 4th c.; (literary Doric) ᾶς at Pindar *Ol.* 10. 51, Theocr. 14. 70. See further Thumb-K. §§79.3, 92.4.

173 ᾶς (guaranteed): cf. 155 Μενέλαος (4.4.62.1).

4.4.6. Megarian ᾶτερον (= Attic ἔτερον)

ᾶτερος is the expected Greek reflex of IE *sm̥-teros, common to all dialects except Attic-Ionic (but cf. Attic θάτερον ~ Ion. τοῦτερον). Epigraphic evidence: cf. ᾶτερον *SEG* 26.393, Corinth, c.600. See further Buck §13.

814 ᾶτερον

Bad dialect

813 ἔτερον MSS (ᾶτερον edd.)

4.4.7. Laconian: αὐ̂ and δ' αὐ̂

These particles are found in literary Doric (Theocritus 1. 37 ὅκα μὲν . . . ἄλλοκα δ' αὐ̂, and frequent elsewhere). A fragment of Alcman (*PMG* 137) has κ(αι) δ' αὐ̂ με[. This is a literary/colloquial usage which is not likely to turn up in inscriptions.

91 Κορινθία δ' αὐ̂

93 τίς δ' αὐ̂ . . . ;

144 δέῖ τὰς γὰρ εἰράνας μάλ' αὖ

171 πᾶ κά τις ἀμπείσειεν αὖ μὴ πλαδδῖῃν;

990 μῆδ' αὖ πλαδδῖῃ

1098 δεινά γ' αὖ πεπόνθαμες

1254 (lyr.) ἀμέ δ' αὖ . . .

1266 (lyr.) νῦν δ' / αὖ φίλῃα . . .

1296 (lyr.) Ταῦγετον αὖτ' ἐραννὸν ἐκλιπῶά: αὖτε is frequent in Homer, Aeschylus. Not found in prose. Used elsewhere by Aristophanes only in parody of high poetry; e.g. *Peace* 1270 (a quotation from the cyclic epic 'Epigonoí'), *Clouds* 595 (a parody of the Spartan poet Terpander).

1320 (lyr.) τὰν δ' αὖ σιάν

This particle seems to be unusually frequent in the mouths of the Laconian speakers, and may have been regarded as a feature of Laconian speech ('klingt ganz fremdartig', Wilamowitz). Its force is very weak; either copulative (δ' αὖ = Attic δέ) or simply emphatic. By contrast, δ' αὖ appears only once in the speech of an Attic character (426: but Γ has δέ); αὖ occurs four times (353, 722, 977, 1150), of which two are pleonastic (977 αὖ πάλιν and 1150 αὖθις αὖ), a common usage in Attic. Cf. τᾶδε δ' αὖ *Ach.* 903 (Boeotian).

4.4.8. Laconian: ἄφατον ὥς

198, 1148 ἄφατον ὥς

Cf. ἄφατα 1080

The fact that this word appears three times in the play in the mouths of Spartan characters may indicate that it was an idiom peculiar to the Laconian dialect. But cf. *Birds* 427 (Tereus uses the expression), and Dover's warning against drawing such conclusions too hastily (1987: ch. 25, p. 240).

4.4.9. Boeotian: βούλομαι

The Boeotian form is βειλ- (an alternative vocalization of the root **g^{ve}ol-s-*). Epigraphic evidence: e.g. βειλειτη Schw. 485.2, Thespiae, late 3rd c. Literary evidence: cf. βεβείλ[Corinna (Pap., PMG 654 iv 4).

Bad dialect:

870 βούλει

4.4.10. $\gamma\alpha$ (= Attic $\gamma\epsilon$)

$\gamma\alpha$ is the usual West Greek form; it is attested epigraphically in Argolic. No diachronic explanation can be given for the alternation $\gamma\alpha/\gamma\epsilon$: cf. 4.4.4, 4.4.13. See further Buck §13.

Laconian

Attributed to Alcman by Ap. Dysc. ($\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\gamma\alpha$ PMG 43). Also found in Theocritus (e.g. 1. 148, with Gow's note ad loc.), but the MSS have more instances of $\gamma\epsilon$.

$\gamma\alpha$ 105, 170 (R), 988, 1174.

$\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\gamma\alpha$ 986 ($\gamma\epsilon$ R), 990.

γ' 81 (Reiske, edd.; $\gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho$ R), 117, 118, 173 (om. R; κ' cj. Bergk), 206, 1005 (om. R; χ' cj. Elmsley), 1098 γ' $\alpha\upsilon$, 1171 γ' $\hat{\omega}$ ($\gamma\epsilon$ R).

Bad dialect

82 $\gamma\epsilon$ R: $\gamma\alpha$ or $\gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho$ edd.

144 $\gamma\epsilon$ MSS, 1096 $\gamma\epsilon$ MSS, 1162 $\gamma\epsilon$ R.

Megarian

736, 764, 775, 795 ($\gamma\epsilon$ R), 798 $\gamma\alpha$ ($\gamma\epsilon$ R).

Bad dialect

794 $\gamma\epsilon$ MSS

Boeotian

$\gamma\alpha$ seems to have been used by Corinna (PMG 695a, Ap. Dysc. Pron. 64b).

860 $\gamma\alpha$; 898 $\acute{\iota}\acute{\omega}\gamma\alpha$ ($\acute{\iota}\omega\gamma\epsilon$ A); 909 $\gamma\alpha$ ($\gamma\epsilon$ R); cf. 867 γ' ($\gamma\epsilon$ B), 900 γ'

Bad dialect

947 $\gamma\epsilon$ (all MSS, Pap.).

4.4.11. Laconian: 980 $\gamma\epsilon\rho\omega\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (= $\gamma\epsilon\rho\omega\acute{\iota}\alpha$?)

The form of this word presents problems. It means 'assembly (of elders)' and has an Attic equivalent $\gamma\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$. At first sight it appears that ω corresponds to Attic ou as usual, and intervocalic σ has been weakened to an aspirate (perhaps later changed to χ in transmission). But Attic $\gamma\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ derives from $\gamma\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$, by means of the change [ti] > [si], followed by loss of the nasal and compensatory lengthening of the vowel; it is generally assumed

that in West Greek the change [ti] > [si] (e.g. in verbal endings: 4.1.18) did not take place. In this case one would have to assume that Aristophanes made up a pseudo-Laonian form by 'Laonizing' the phonology of the Attic word.

The word is attested in two other sources: Xenophon (*Resp. Lac.* 10. 1) gives the name of the Spartan body as *γεροντία*, and Hesychius has the following gloss: *γερωνία· γεροντία παρὰ Λάκωσι . . .* (the rest is corrupt). The *ν* is explained here as a corruption of the intervocalic aspirate. If on the strength of Aristophanes and Hesychius one wishes to accept the form with the aspirate as genuine Laonian, then Xenophon's form has to be explained as a re-building of the word on the basis of *γέρων*, -*οντος*. Bourguet (1927: 147), noting that feminine words in -*tya* underwent change to -*syā* in Laonian,⁷³ explains the Aristophanic form by supposing that the [i] of original *γεροντία* acquired a consonantal value and thus caused the preceding [t] to assibilate in Laonian; but he does not explain why *γερωῖα* (*sic*) rather than *γερωά* appears in the Aristophanic text. Perpillou (1972: 125 f.), pointing to Homeric *γερούσιος* and Myc. *kerosija*, argues that *γερουσία* is the genuine Spartan form.⁷⁴

Attempts to explain the word with reference to *γέρας* and *ἔχω* (e.g. by Wackernagel 1916; cf. Fritz 1945) are not convincing. Van Leeuwen (*ad loc.*) suggested that the Athenians might have thought that the Spartan word contained the *ἐχ*- root. For detailed discussion see Collinge (1971).

The herald's ignorance of the (democratic) political institutions of Athens is clearly meant to be humorous. The functions of the Spartan *gerousia* and Athenian *prytaneis* were very different, and the Athenians were well aware of this: cf. Demosth. 20. 107: *ἐπειδὴν τις εἰς τὴν καλουμένην γερουσίαν ἐγκριθῇ παρασχὼν αὐτὸν οἶον χρή, δεσπότης ἐστὶ τῶν πολλῶν*. ('Whenever a man for his good conduct is elected to the *gerousia*, as they call it, he is absolute master over the citizens.')

⁷³ e.g. *Μῶά* (IG v/1. 256. 1, Laconia, 2nd c.) for Attic *Μοῦσα* (which he takes back to **montya*), and Damonon's *ἐνθεβοῖαις ἡπποῖς* (IG v/1. 213, Laconia, 5/4th c.); compare also *ἐκλιπῶά* (1296), *Μῶά* (1297), *κλέωά* (1299) in *Lys.*

⁷⁴ ' . . . il s'agit à Sparte d'un terme "achéen" appartenant clairement à un substrat linguistique et institutionnel pré-dorien au moins comparable au mycénien'. In this case the Aristophanic form would be either 'un laconisme plus laconien que celui des Spartiates eux-mêmes', or '[un] témoignage aussi vraisemblable d'une réaction dorienne à Sparte même'.

4.4.12. Megarian: γίνομαι (ī) (Attic γίγνομαι)

γίγνομαι became γίνομαι in non-Attic dialects much earlier than in Attic, where it is not found until 306/5 BC (cf. Threatte 1980: 561). No early examples of the verb are attested in Megarian. Literary evidence: γινετ[is found in a pap. fr. of Alcman (4. i. 3 PMG).

795 γίνεται MSS, Pap.

But at e.g. *Ach.* 48 (Attic) MSS also give γίνεται, where edd. print γίγνεται; and *passim*.

4.4.13. Boeotian: γλάχων, 'pennyroyal' (*Mentha pulegium*)

861 γλάχων', 869 γλάχωνος, 874 γλάχω

The Attic form is βλήχων (Ionic γλήχων, Doric γλάχων). The form *karako* is found in Mycenaean (MY Ge 605). For the association of this plant with Boeotia cf. *Lys.* 89.

4.4.14. Laconian: εἰράνα, 'peace'

The forms of this word (Attic εἰρήνη) in the dialects are rather puzzling: initial aspiration comes and goes, and the vowel in the first syllable is variously represented εἰ and ι. -ρη- should be ρᾱ- in Attic if this were the original vocalism (as the Lac. form suggests); but Thess. *ηῖρενα* and *ἱρεῖνα* cast doubt on this. Meillet (1975: 82) suggests that the Attic form is a borrowing from Ionic (but this would not explain the Thessalian vocalism). Epigraphic evidence: *ηῖραναν* SEG 26.461.2, Laconia, early 5/4th c.; *εἰρανα* is found from the 2nd c. D. L. Page (1951: 138) discusses the appearance of the word in Alcman. See further Wackernagel (1909), Vendryes (1920), Arena (1971: 91).

Bad dialect

118 εἰράναν, 144 εἰράνας, 169 εἰράναν, 1081 εἰράναν.

Given the confusion outlined above, it would not be surprising if Aristophanes got the Laconian form wrong. It looks as though he merely replaced the Attic η with 'Laconian' ᾱ (though an early corruption of *IPANA* is not implausible).

4.4.15. Boeotian: ἐπιχαρίζομαι

There is no epigraphic evidence available.

884 κῆπιχάριτται (Attic καὶ ἐπιχάρισται): aor. mid. imper., 'oblige'.

867 ἐπεχαρίττω (Blaydes): ἐπιχαρίττω R, ἐπιχαρίτως cett.

Blaydes's reading = 'you have done me a favour' (2 sg. aor. mid.). This meaning may have been specific to Boeotian; there may also be a sexual implication in 884, as with Attic χαρίζομαι (e.g. *Eccl.* 629, Theopompus *PCG* 30). ἐπιχαρίζομαι (τινὰ τινί) occurs in Xenophon (*Eq.* 6. 12) with the meaning 'make a present of'.

Van Leeuwen remarks (ad loc.) that verbs in -ίζω seem to be particularly frequent in Boeotian inscriptions. It is not clear, however, that they are more common in Boeotian than in other dialects (or Attic, at any rate: cf. Peppler 1921: 156).

4.4.16. Laconian, Megarian: ἔπειτεν vs. Attic ἔπειτα

ἔπειτεν is a dialect equivalent of Attic ἔπειτα (similarly εἶτεν). It is found in Ionic; it may also have been characteristic of sections of West Greek. It is not attested epigraphically till late, in *IG* v/1. 390. 28 (Schw. 74, Messenia, 1st c. BC): there are several instances, all of which occur before a vowel (ἔπειτα occurs in the same inscription also before a vowel). εἶτεν is found in a fragmentary Cretan inscription (*IC* I 17.12a, 2nd c.). ἔπειτεν is found in Pindar (it is not in epic); but literary Doric otherwise uses εἶτα and ἔπειτα. See Rutherford (1881: 204), who quotes a view that the -εν forms are ἐσχάτως βάρβαρα.

Laconian

Doubtful

999 ἔπειτα: guaranteed.

Megarian

745 κῆπειτεν εἰς: guaranteed.

4.4.17. Laconian: 1096 (F)ἔσθος, 'cloak, clothing'

An epic and poetic word in Attic; it may have been colloquial in Laconian. The pretentious poet at *Birds* 943 uses it: ὃς ὑφαντο-

δόνητον ἔσθος οὐ πέπαται. Cf. *Et. Mag.* βέστον· τὸ ἱμάτιον ὑπὸ Λακῶνων· οἱ δὲ, βέττον. (βέττον < *φεσ-τον, Lejeune 1972: 110).

4.4.18. Megarian: interrogative ἦ

There is no epigraphic evidence (this type of word is unlikely to turn up in inscriptions). Literary evidence: Alcman ἦ οὐχ ὄρης; (Pap., 1.50 PMG).

749, 776 ἦ λῆς . . . ; 769 ἦ οὐ . . . ;

It is possible, but difficult to prove, that the interrogative particle ἦ, which is virtually limited to tragedy in Attic,⁷⁵ sounded poetic in that dialect but was more colloquial in West Greek.

The 5 occurrences of ἦ in the *Acharnians* point to this. In 749 and 776 ἦ λῆς appears in the mouth of the Megarian. In 543 it occurs in the speech of Dikaiopolis, but in a line which is taken from Euripides' *Telephos*. (Here the particle has affirmative force, but its occurrence in this sense is exactly parallel to the interrogative.) In 424 and 426 it appears in the high-blown and pretentious speech of Euripides. This example also shows how parody of the high tragic style (which will often involve literary Doric) has to be distinguished from imitation of the epichoric dialects.

4.4.19. Megarian θᾶσθε < θᾶέομαι (Attic θεᾶσθε < θεάομαι)

The form is not attested in Megarian inscriptions, but there is evidence that it was characteristic of West Greek: cf. Hesych. σαμένα. θεωμένη, θεωρούσα. Λάκωνες. It is attested epigraphically at Heracleia: θασαμενοι IG xiv. 645. i. 118 (Schw. 62), 4th c. Cf. Theocr. 2. 72 θάσασθαι, Epicharm. 114 θᾶσαι (aor. imper.), Sophron 85 θάμεθα. See further *DELG* s.v. θέα; Bechtel (ii. 191).

770 θᾶσθε: guaranteed.

θᾶσθε < θᾶ-εσθε: borrowed as a whole lexical item (an exclamation). The contrast with the Attic equivalent (imper. θεᾶσθε, cf. θεῶ *Ach.* 366, θέασαι *Peace* 906) is not a straightforward phonological one.

⁷⁵ Aesch. 25 ×, Soph. 61 ×, Eurip. 74 ×. Denniston (1954: 282).

4.4.20. Megarian: 792 *θύειν*

The *υ* is guaranteed short by the metre. It is long in the present tense in Attic; occasionally short in literary Doric, incl. Pindar and Theocritus (see Denniston on Eur. *El.* 1141). A short *υ* is also found in Homer.

4.4.21. Megarian: *θυμητιδάν* (772) vs. *ἄλας θυμίτας* (1099, Attic)

No epigraphic evidence available.

772 *θυμητιδαν* R; *θυματιδάν* AB; *θυμητιδάν* Γ; *θυμιταν* / *θυμιτιναν* Pap., etc.

There is no evidence that the difference between the two forms is a dialectal difference, or for Ahrens's suggestion that *ἄλες* was feminine in Doric (in which case one would have to emend *αὐτῶν* in 760). The confusion among the MSS in 772 points to serious corruption. See the commentators *ad loc.* for suggestions.

4.4.22. Laconian: *ἱαρός*

ἱαρός is the usual West Greek form, and is attested in Laconian: e.g. (epigraphic) *ἡαρε[vs IG v/1. 649, Laconia, 4th c.]*; (literary) *ἱαρός* is found in Alcman (*PMG* 26.4, quote); but Theocritus *ἱερός*. See Buck §13 for occasional West Greek [a] in place of Attic [e], and cf. 4.4.11 above.

Bad dialect

84 *ἱερεῖον* R: *ἱαρεῖον* edd., 'sacrificial victim'

It is unclear whether editors are right to amend in this case. The corruption is easy (cf. Alcman *PMG* 124).

4.4.23. Laconian, Megarian: *ἔκω* for Attic *ἦκω*, 'have come'

ἔκω is found in all dialects except Attic-Ionic. It is attested in inscriptions, though not from Laconia or the Megarid: cf. *IG* iv. 329 *ἰφόμες*, Corinth, 5th c. (?) Literary evidence: *ἔκω* is found in Epic and in Pindar (not in tragedy, Theocritus, or extant Alcman). This is a case where Attic-Ionic was opposed to all the other dialects; and *ἔκω* would have been familiar from Epic.

Laconian

87 ἴκει

Bad dialect

1077 ἴκομες MSS (ἴκομες edd.)

Megarian

742 ἰξεῖτ' (ἴξετ' A)

750 ἴκομες (ἴκομεν R; εἰκομες Pap.; ἴκομεν cett.)

820 ἴκει (Aj, Pap.; ἴκει REF)

4.4.24. Laconian, Megarian, Boeotian: potential particle $\kappa\bar{a}/\kappa'$
(Attic $\alpha\bar{\nu}$)

$\kappa\bar{a}/\kappa'$ is the normal West Greek and Boeotian particle. It is odd that elision of $\kappa\bar{a}$ to κ' took place, since long vowels are not usually elided in Greek; but this was clearly the practice, in both inscriptions and literature. One view has been to posit a by-form $\kappa\check{a}$ to explain the elision.

Laconian $\kappa\alpha/\kappa'$ in Laconian inscriptions: $\kappa\alpha$ + C: $\eta\sigma\upsilon\iota \kappa\alpha \Lambda\alpha$ [SEG 26.461, 5/4th c. $\kappa\alpha$ + V.: $\alpha\iota \delta\epsilon \kappa\alpha \acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\tau\rho\upsilon\theta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ IG v/1. 1155. 3 (Schw. 51), 5th c. κ' + V.: $\alpha\iota \kappa' \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ IG v/2. 159 a. 2 (Schw. 57), 5th c. (Tegea, perh. Laconian)

Literary evidence: the text of Alcman has at least one instance of κ' (PMG 1. 85), and one probable (restored) instance of $\kappa\bar{a}$ (PMG 104, Ap. Dysc.). See D. L. Page (1951: 152). $\kappa\alpha/\kappa'$ are both found in Epicharmus. In Theocritus one finds $\kappa\alpha$ (11. 59), κ' (2. 124), $\kappa\epsilon$ (2. 126), $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$ (2. 118).

117 $\kappa\alpha\iota \kappa\alpha \rho\omicron\tau\tau\acute{o}$: guaranteed.171 $\pi\acute{\alpha} \kappa\acute{\alpha}$ (cj. Dobree; $\kappa\alpha\iota$ MSS) $\tau\iota\varsigma$: guaranteed.

N.B. The order of the words $\kappa\alpha$ and $\tau\iota\varsigma$ seems to be in accordance with Attic rather than Doric usage: 4.3.3.3.

173 $\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \rho\acute{o}\delta\alpha\varsigma \kappa' \epsilon\chi\omega\upsilon\tau\iota$ ($\gamma' \epsilon\chi\omega\upsilon\tau\iota$ Γ, om. R): $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ would also scan.180 $\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha} \kappa' \epsilon\chi\omicron\iota$ ($\gamma' \Gamma$): guaranteed.

1005 $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu \chi' \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (edd.: $\gamma' \Gamma$, om. R): not guaranteed ($\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu \alpha\bar{\nu}$ would scan with resolution).

1080 *τί κα* (cj. Ahrens; *κᾶν* R, *καὶ* cett.) *λέγοι τις* (*κα* is not guaranteed, since hiatus is permitted after *τί*).

1099 *αὐ κ' ἔδον* R (*αἰκ* edd.): cf. 4.3.3.3, 4.4.2.

Bad dialect

105 *καὶ κ' ἔκ* edd.: *κᾶν ἔκ* R (*κᾶν* < *καὶ ἔαν*)

κα is guaranteed long by the metre in 171 and 1080. See now Molinos Tejada (1992) on the potential particle in Doric literature.

Megarian

κα/κ' in Megarian inscriptions:

κα + C.: *αὐ κα λοντι* Schw. 165g.4, Sel. (Olympia), 6th c.

κα + V.: *αὐ μη κα ἀλ(λ)ε* SEG 13.311.1, Meg., 5th c.

κ' + V.: *καὶ κ' ἀλ(λ)ε* SEG 13.311.2, Meg., 5th c.

732 *αὐ χ' εὐρητέ πα* (contracted *ᾶν* possible, but not *ἔαν*).

737 *ὅς ὑμέ κα πρίαιτο* (*ᾶν* would result in elision of *ὑμέ*, so that *κα* is confirmed by the metre): guaranteed.

762 *ὄκκ' εἰσβάλητε*

798 *καὶ κ' ᾄνις γα* Coulon, Sommerstein (*κᾶν ᾄνευ* E²Γ²B; *κ' ᾄνευ* RAc; *κ' ανε*[Pap.])

799 *ᾶ κα διδῶς* (*κα* Porson; *καὶ* MSS; [*κα*]_i Pap.): guaranteed.

835 *αἶ κά τις διδῶ*: *κα* is guaranteed, but the West Greek word-order should be *αἶ τίς κα* (4.3.3.3).

κα is guaranteed long by the metre in 737 and 799 (see under Laconian above).

Boeotian

κα/κ' in Boeotian inscriptions: *ὅς χ' ἄδαν πιε* IG vii. 3467 (Schw. 441), 5th c.

Bad dialect

906 *μέντᾶν* (= *μέντοι* + *ᾶν*): guaranteed.

This is a striking example of Atticism, since the evidence from Laconian and Megarian suggests that Aristophanes was perfectly aware of differences in the potential particle among the dialects.

4.4.25. Laconian: 1253 *κᾶλα*, 'ships'

The word is found in epic and Pindar, and would have sounded poetic in Attic. It seems to have been still colloquial in Laconian.

Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 1. 1. 23 (= Plut. *Alcibiades* 28) ἔρρει τὰ κᾶλα. However, it is worth noting that the word occurs in a lyric passage in the Aristophanic text.

4.4.26. Boeotian: 876 κολύμβους MSS (-ως edd.), 'dabchicks'

The word is derived from κολυμβάω, 'dive'. The *o*-stem form (here) is a hapax, the usual word being κολυμβίς (*Tachybaptus ruficollis*, Dunbar on *Birds* 304).

4.4.27. Laconian: 1013 κράτιστα [1320 κρατίσταν]

Wilamowitz changed the text at 1013 to κάρτιστα, on the grounds that Laconian demands it and Ar. could not have been unaware of the variant since κάρτα was a living form for him. He does not change the text at [1320]. κάρτα was not colloquial in Attic (it is almost entirely restricted to tragedy: see Dunbar on *Birds* 342), though Ar. will have been familiar with the existence of alternative forms (from epic, for example).

Metathesis of vowel and liquid⁷⁶ is attested epigraphically (generally in the word *δαρχμα* = *δραχμά*) in various West Greek dialects, Boeotian, and Arcado-Cypriot. In the literary tradition there is ἐμβραμμένα· παρὰ Σώφρονι ἢ εἰμαρμένη . . . Καὶ Λάκωνες οὕτω λέγουσι (Sophron 119 Kaibel = *Et. Mag.* and Hesych.). The feature cannot, however, be confidently predicted for Laconian in this particular word on the basis of evidence from other Doric dialects (or Arcadian).

κράτιστα is used in a similar adverbial way in Xenophon (e.g. *Agas.* 1. 25). See further Buck §49.2, Rutherford (1881: 163).

4.4.28. Megarian κρής (Attic κρέας)

The appearance of *κρα* (acc. pl.) at Selinous (Jameson *et al.* 1983: A15, A20, 5th c.) is, in the words of the editors, 'unparalleled and unexpected'. This combination often gives *η* in West Greek where Attic has uncontracted *εα* (esp. from *εφα*): cf. Theocritus 1. 6 χιμάρω δὲ καλὸν κρής MSS (editors print κρέας here; the metre

⁷⁶ Often but not always due to the different dialectal treatments of syllabic resonants (**ʔ*, **ʔ*, etc.). Lejeune (1972: §§198 ff.).

allows both). The dialects vary unpredictably in this regard: the development generally depends on whether the original separator was *s* or *w* (cf. Attic ἐννέα and ἑτη). Other evidence suggests that Megarian contracted to *η* in cases where the separator was *w*: e.g. βασιλη D³ 350.2, found at Olympia, late 4th c. (βασιλεα is also found in the late 4th c.).

795 τὸ κῆς < *κρέφας (a disyllabic form is ruled out by the metre).

4.4.29. Megarian: 743 τὰς λιμοῦ

The word is masculine in Attic. Cf. Rutherford (1881: 274): τὴν λιμὸν Δωριεῖς, σὺ δὲ ἀρσενικῶς τὸν λιμὸν φάθι. The feminine form is also found in Epic (*Hom. Hymn Dem.* 312). It reoccurs in the *koine* (e.g. *Act. Ap.* 11.28), which suggests that it was characteristic of Ionic as well as Doric.

4.4.30. Laconian, Megarian: λῶ, λῆν 'to wish'

The verb λῶ, inf. λῆν, is peculiar to West Greek. The word is attested epigraphically (though not in Laconia or Heracleia); it is also found in Epicharmus, Theocritus; and cf. Thuc. 5. 77. 4: αἱ μὲν λῆν . . . See further Brause (1910), *DELG* s.v.

Laconian

No epigraphic evidence available.

λῶ (981), λῆς (95, 1188), λῆ (1163), λῶμες (1162), λῆτε (1105).

Cf. the familiar Attic word at *Lys.* 1080 σέλει.

Megarian

Epigraphic evidence: e.g. λῶντι Schw. 165g.4, Sel. (Olympia), 6th c.;; λῆι Jameson *et al.* (1983), B3, Sel., 5th c.

λῆς 749, 766, 772, 776, 788, 814.

4.4.31. Boeotian: 909 μικκός = Attic μικρός

There is no other evidence for this form in Boeotian; it is found in West Greek and Ionic. For literary Doric cf. Theocr. 5. 66 μικκὸν ἄκουσον.

4.4.32. Laconian: 1002 μογίομες

μογέω 'toil, be in distress' is frequent in Homer, but confined to high poetry in Attic. Hesych. has μογίοντι μογοῦσι, πυρέσσουσι. Δωριεῖς. It may still have been current in Laconian.

4.4.33. Laconian: μολεῖν, 'come'

The word seems to be characteristic of West Greek, and is attested occasionally in inscriptions, though not from Laconia or Heraclia: cf. ὅπως μοληι, *IG* iv²/1. 122. 14 (Schw. 109), Epidaurus, late 4th c. Cf. Plut. *Ap. Lac.* 220 B μολόντες.

μολεῖν is found in Homer, Pindar, and tragedy. It is not used in Attic prose (though there is an instance in Xenophon; cf. Rutherford 1881: 41). It is used elsewhere by Ar. only in lyric.

984 ἔμολον; 1262 (lyr.) μόλε; 1297 (lyr.) μόλε <μόλε> (cj. Hermann).

The examples in lyric cannot be taken as evidence for the colloquial language, especially as they occur in kletic formulae.

4.4.34. Laconian: μυσίδδην 'say, tell'

μυθίζω appears to be characteristic of West Greek. There is literary but no epigraphic evidence. It is found in Theocritus (e.g. 10. 58 μυθίσδεν τῇ μητρί). Hesych. has μουςιδδεῖ λαλεῖ, ὁμιλεῖ. There is no explicit attribution to dialect, but the -σ- points to Laconian.

94 μύσιδδέ τοί edd. (μυσιδδέτω R); 981 μυσίξαι B (μυθίξαι R, μυσύξαι Γ); 1076 μυσίδδην.

4.4.35. Megarian: 796 ὀδελόν

There is no epigraphic evidence from Megarian; other West Greek dialects show the word with -δ-. The alternation δε/βο points to a labiovelar, but the labial in Attic ὀβελός is unexpected and would have to be explained by analogical influence (see Threatte 1980: 215). See further *DELG* s.v.; Bechtel (ii. 103, Phocian).

4.4.36. Laconian: οἰῶ parenthetic (= Attic οἴομαι)

There is not much evidence for Laconian usage. The word is found in Epilycus, *Coraliscus* fr. 4 (PCG): ποττὰν κοπίδ', οἰῶ, σῶμαι. The form is used parenthetically in Homer in the 1st person.

81, 156, 998, 1256 (lyr.). (In 81, 156, and 998 the first syllable is scanned short.)

Aristophanes seems to have regarded the expression as a stereotypical Laconism.

4.4.37. Boeotian: 913 ὀρνᾶπετίοισι (Σ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀρνέοις)

The word is not attested elsewhere. It can hardly be the standard Boeotian word for 'bird'; it looks like a humorous diminutive or some such form. The long α in the second syllable marks the form as foreign to Attic.

4.4.38. Boeotian: ὀρτάλιχος = Attic ἀλεκτρυών

For Boeotian usage cf. Strattis (PCG 49), quoted at 5.1.4.2 with discussion. The word is built on ὀρταλῖς with a suffix which is associated elsewhere with Boeotian (4.4.64.3). It occurs in Attic (and Theocritus) with a diminutive sense.

871 ὀρταλίχων.

4.4.39. Laconian: 183 πάρφαινε 'reveal, tell'

Commentators have noted that this would be an odd verb to use in Attic (in the sense of δηλόω, etc.). Outside a range of terms with generally negative connotations (connected with συκοφαντία, etc.), transitive uses of the verb φαίνω are not particularly common in Attic. Xenophon (e.g. *Hell.* 3. 2. 23) gives a Spartan technical term φρουρὰν φαίνειν (mobilize forces, declare war); this may point to a different (and more widespread) function of the verb in Laconian.⁷⁷

183 πάρφαινε μάν τὸν ὄρκον

⁷⁷ Xenophon's own prose shows traces of Doric influence; this may account for a number of interesting analogous uses of φαίνω (cf. *Hell.* 3. 5. 10 τότε ἔφηναν, οἷα περὶ ὑμῶν ἐγγίγνωσκον, and *Anab.* 3. 1. 16, 4. 3. 13, *Mem.* 4. 4. 9).

4.4.40. Megarian: 763 πάσσακι, 'peg, hoe'

Attic πάτταλος (Σ ad loc. τῷ πασσάλῳ): see Taillardat (1976). Hesych. has πασσακίζουσα· πασσαλεύουσα. For the long *a* in the second syllable see Björck (1950: 260).

4.4.41. Laconian: 996 πελλάνας (gen. sg.)

The text is uncertain. The word perhaps contains a geographical reference as well as a *double entendre*. See further Taillardat (1972).

4.4.42. Boeotian: 883 πεντήκοντα

Labiovelars before front vowels generally become labials in Boeotian, as in Lesbian and Thessalian (πετταρες, πεισαι, etc.). The number five is, however, an exception to this rule: in this word [t] corresponds to Attic [t]. In any case the line is a parodic quotation of Aeschylus. Epigraphic evidence: πεντε IG vii. 3193. 4 (Schw. 524), Orchomenos, late 3rd c.; πεντεικοντα SEG 3.342.9, Thisbe, 3rd c.; so also Corinna (PMG 654 iii 28). See further Szemerényi (1966).

4.4.43. Boeotian: 879 πικτίδας cett. (πυκτίδας E, B)

The name of an animal, not otherwise attested. The word need not be a Boeotian gloss. See Morenilla-Talens (1986) for discussion.

4.4.44. Laconian: πλαδδιάω, 'wander, talk nonsense'

171 πλαδδιῆν (infin.); 990 πλαδδίη (imper.).

Cf. Attic (poetic) πλάζω: Eur. HF 1187: μαινομένῳ πιτύλῳ πλαγχθεῖς ('unhinged by the maddening attack').

4.4.45. Laconian: 106 πορπακισάμενος

The verb is a denominative of πόρπαξ 'handle of a shield'. There is some reason to suppose that this word was a specifically Laconian

term. Critias (88 B 37 Diels-Kranz) alleged that ἀπιστίας εἵνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς εἰλώτας τούτους ἐξαιρεῖ μὲν Σπαρτιάτης οἴκοι τῆς ἀσπίδος τὸν πόρπακα ('on account of their distrust of these Helots each Spartiate removes the handle of his shield when he is at home').

For an Aristophanic parallel see *Kn.* 848 f. (with Neil's note ad loc.), where the word is used in connection with the Spartan shields taken from Sphacteria. For the long *a* see Björck (1950: 296).

4.4.46. Laconian: ποτάόμαι / πωτάόμαι 'fly' (Attic πέτομαι)

Both long and short vowel forms of the verb are found in Epic and literary Doric. The short vowel form is found in Alcman, both in papyrus (ποτήσθω *PMG* 1.16) and in a famous quotation (*PMG* 26. 3 . . . ἄμ' ἀλκύνεσσι ποτήται); this is alluded to at *Birds* 250 (μετ' ἀλκύνεσσι ποτήται), and quoted by a schol. ad loc. to illustrate the reference (Σ διὸ καὶ Δωρικῶς εἴρηται, see Dunbar ad loc.).

1013 ποτάόμαι, fut. (Γ, so Coulon, Sommerstein) πωτάόμαι (R, so Wilamowitz, Henderson).

Whichever reading is right, this seems to be another example of an archaic/poetic form which was colloquial in Laconian, or thought to be so by Aristophanes.

4.4.47. Laconian, Boeotian πρέσβειρα, πρέσβεις

There are a number of dialect variants of Attic πρέσβυς which may or may not go back to a single form in Common Greek. The word looks like an old compound; the second element may be a root beginning with a labiovelar (e.g. *g^{rw}H₂- 'go', see *DELG* s.v.). The development of the labiovelar *g^{rw}- to γ before υ (e.g. in the nom. sing.) is normal, and must have been generalized from the nom. to all positions in dialects which have the stem πρεσγ-. This stem is characteristic of Crete and North-West Greek (cf. Boeotian below).

Laconian

There is no epigraphic evidence from Laconia. For West Greek in general cf. πρεσγεαν (*Schw.* 83b19), found at Argos: this may

represent the influence of Cretan dialect (the document is a treaty between Cnosos and Tylisos). An uncertain fragment of Alcman (*PMG* 5. 2. ii. 20, commentary) has *πρεσγ[...]* ἀντὶ τοῦ πρεσβύτης. See further García Ramón (1985).

86 *πρέσβειρα*; 1102 *πρέσβεις* (*πρέσβης* edd.).

Boeotian

πρισγεις for *πρέσβεις* is attested for Boeotian (*IG* vii. 2418. 19 = Schw. 467, Thebes, mid 4th c.).

883 *πρέσβειρα πεντήκοντα Κωπάδων κοράν*

It is not clear whether a form **πρισγεια* here would spoil the quotation from Aeschylus; it would not, at any rate, spoil the metre (as would *Κωπαῖδων* and *κοράων*). However, *πρέσβειρα* is a literary form without significance as a marker of epichoric dialect.

4.4.48. Laconian: 170 *ρύαχετον*, 'rabble'

Hesych. ὁ ῥέων ὀχετός s.v. (cf. *ρύαξ*: Björck 1950: 285): the word is not found elsewhere. It may be a coinage to suggest Spartan contempt for the undisciplined Athenian democracy. Likewise Dikaiopolis (*Ach.* 26) complains that the Athenians arrive at the Assembly *ἄθροοι καταρρέοντες* and jostle for the best seats.

4.4.49. Megarian *σάκκος* (Attic *σάκος*)

745 *εἰς τὸν σάκκον*

cf. 822 (Attic) *οὐκ ἀφήσεις τὸν σάκον*;

Both forms are guaranteed by metre. Cf. Rutherford (1881: 323, Phryn. s.v.) *Σάκκος*. *Δωριεὺς διὰ τῶν δύο κκ, οἱ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ δι' ἑνός*. See Masson (1967: 24 f.) for the history of the word.

4.4.50. Laconian: 1004 *σιγῆν* 'touch'

Evidence for this word in Laconian is indirect, but points to the view that Ar. was right to associate it with Doric. It was alien to colloquial Attic (cf. Rutherford 1881: 169 f., 391 f.), which used *ἄπτομαι* (the exception, as usual, is Xenophon). Epigraphic evidence: the word (pres. *θιγγάνω*) is attested in Epidaurus (*IG* iv² / 1. 128. 5, verse, c.280), and in Arcadia (*IG* v/2. 429. 5 = Schw. 673,

5th c.). Literary evidence: *θίγης* Alcman (Hephaestion, *PMG* 58.2), *ποτθιγείν* Epicharmus (85.1 Kaibel); also in Pindar and Theocritus.

4.4.51. Boeotian: 879 *σκαλόπας* 'moles'

The word is glossed *σπάλαξ* (e.g. in Photius, Hesychius), but this is not attested before Aristotle. The only other occurrence is in Photius, who assigns *σκάλωψ* to Cratinus (*PCG* 100). The two words could have been competing forms within Attic-Ionic. Since it is unlikely that real Boeotians sold moles in the agora, there is no reason why Ar. or his audience should have known the Boeotian term.

4.4.52. Laconian: *συναλιάζω*, 'assemble'

The word is attested in *IG* xiv. 645. ii. 10 (Schw. 63), Heracleia, 4th cent: *των ηηρακλειων διαγωνοντων εν κατακλητῳ ἀλῖαι*.

93 *ξυναλίαξε* (συν- cj. Bruck)

Hdt., Xen. *συναλίζω* (aor. *συνήλιστα*). A denominative of *ἀλία*, which in Doric states corresponded to the Attic *ἐκκλησία* (cf. Hdt. 7.134).

4.4.53. Laconian: 105 *ταγάς*.

Gen. sing. of *ταγά*. The first syllable is short (guaranteed by the metre).

There has been considerable discussion of this word, which centres around whether it is connected with the word *ταγός*, the name of an official in Thessaly. *ταγα* is found in a Thessalian inscription (Schw. 557) in the phrase *κέν ταγα κέν ἀταγῆαι*, 'in both *x* and *y*'. Chadwick (1969) argued that *ταγα* in this inscription (which he reads *τᾶγα*) is unconnected with *τᾶγός*, but is derived from *τάσσω* and means 'in time of war' (he compares the morphology of the two words to *δίκη* and *ἀδικία*). Hooker (1980) reiterated the view that the phrase means 'both when there is a *ταγός* in office and when there is not'. Chadwick (1992) returned to the debate, arguing (i) that in Schw. 557 *ταγα* the *-ι* of the dative has dropped (as a result of being unstressed), and (ii) heavy initial stress on the word *ταγός* in Thessalian resulted in the word being borrowed in

Attic with a long *a*. This would explain the length of the initial syllable in tragedy.⁷⁸

The Aristophanic form seems to mean 'post (in battle)'. Its only other occurrence in Attic (with a long first syllable, perhaps on the analogy of *ταγός*) is at Aesch. *Ag.* 110, where it means '(military) command, leadership'. Fraenkel ad loc. notes that '*ταγός* and *ταγά* seem to have been alien to Ionic and Attic; apart, perhaps, from Cyprus, these words were part of the spoken language only in Thessaly'. Wilamowitz (ad loc.) suggested that *ταγά* was the Laconian form. Compare the use of *ταγός* at *Kn.* 159, where (applied to the sausage-seller) it mockingly echoes the Aeschylean usage. See further Björck (1950: 153).

4.4.54. Megarian: *τράφειν* = Attic *τρέφειν*

There is evidence that some West Greek dialects had *τράφειν*, which is the result of zero-grade vocalization of the root (i.e. **τρεφ-* instead of **τρεφ-*): cf. Leumann (1957: 78) with note. *τράφειν* occurs in Cretan inscriptions (Thumb-K. §141.1). Cf. Theocr. 3. 16 *ἔτραφε*, Pindar, *Isthm.* 8. 44 *τράφειν*; the form is also found in Epic.

788 *τράφειν* (*τράφεν* MSS).

4.4.55. Boeotian: 860, 954 *τὰν τύλαν*, 'porter's hump'

It is possible that this is to be regarded as a Boeotian or dialect gloss. The word is rare, and does not seem to be attested in this meaning elsewhere in Attic. A word *τύλος* ('callus') is found in Attic: cf. Eupolis, *Flatterers* PCG 170 (discussed at 5.1.1.4 below).

4.4.56. Laconian: 143 *ὑπνῶν*

The metre requires a long first syllable, even though a syllable followed by *muta cum liquida* is usually short in comic dialogue; in Attic the word has a short first syllable. Lengthening was a feature of literary Doric (almost always in Theocritus; e.g. 11. 22), but it is impossible to say whether it was also characteristic of Laconian,

⁷⁸ He also maintains that his interpretation fits the new attestation of *ταγα* in the Matropolis inscription (*BCH* 90 [1970], 161-2, ed. B. Helly = *SEG* 36.548).

as Wilamowitz (ad loc.) suggests. The verb itself is not found in Attic (Herod. uses the middle); cf. *Lys.* 758 οὐ δύναμαι 'γωγ' οὐδὲ κοιμάσθ' ἐν πόλει.

4.4.57. Laconian: 1000 ὑσπлагίδος

Gen. of *ὑσπлагίς = Attic ὑσπληξ, ὑσπληγος 'starting-gate'. A West Greek genitive (similar to the Attic) is attested from Epidaurus (ὑσπλακος *IG* iv²/1. 98. 2, late 3rd c.).

4.4.58. Laconian: 1001 ὑσσάκων

Gen. pl., unknown word; possibly Laconian. Seems to have a sexual meaning. Cf. *PMG* 974 (adespota) εἶμ' ὦτ' ἀπ' ὑσσάκω λυθείσα, with schol. A ad loc. (ἀντὶ τοῦ "εἶμι ὥστε ἀπὸ πασσάλου λυθείσα") and Photius s.v. ὑσσάκους (τοὺς πασσάλους, Ἀριστοφάνης *Λυσιστράτη* καὶ οἱ *Δωριεῖς*). Calame (ad loc., *Alcm.* fr. 272) notes a parallel with *Eccl.* 1020 and considers attributing the fragment to Epicharmus. See also Golden (1982).

4.4.59. Laconian: χάίος

Cf. Hesych. χάσιος· ἀγαθός, χρηστός. A similar adjective is found in literary Doric: Theocr. 7. 5 χαῶν τῶν ἐπάνωθεν '[of] the good men of olden days'; Aesch. *Supp.* (lyr.) 858 βαθυχαίος 'of old nobility'. The relationship between the Aristophanic and the literary forms is difficult to unravel: see Perpillou (1972: 127) for a possible etymology.

90 χαῖα; 1157 χαίωτέραν.

91: the adjective is mockingly echoed by the coarse Cleonice, together with an Atticized version of the asseverative oath.

4.4.60. Megarian: 778 χρῆσθα

No epigraphic evidence from Megarian for this verb. The form is equivalent to Attic *χρήζεις* (cf. 734 *χρήδδερ'*), though the meaning 'wish' seems to have been more widespread in West Greek (Buck §162.14). There is some evidence for a verb *χρήν* = *χρήζειν*: Hesych. *χρής*· θέλεις, *χρήζεις* (cf. Cratinus, *PCG* 134); Soph. *Aj.*

1373 σοὶ δὲ δρᾶν ἔξεσθ' ᾧ χρῆς; Soph. *Ant.* 887 εἴτε χρῆ [i.e. Antigone] θανεῖν . . . See Rutherford (1881: 133 f.). The form may have been a Doric or Megarian idiom, unless Ar. has put a poeticism into the mouth of his Megarian. See 4.2.5.5 above for the personal ending.

4.4.61. Laconian appellatives

4.4.61.1. *Lys.* 1098, 1242 ὦ πολυχαρεῖδα

Cj. Meineke: 1098 -ῖδα MSS; 1242 -ῖδα R, πολυχαρῖδα cett.

This appears to be a Laconian address or interjection, similar to Attic ὦ φίλτατε, etc. See Palumbo Stracca (1990) for discussion.

4.4.61.2. *Lys.* 1171 ὦ λισσάνιε (Hesych., Phot.)

According to Hesych. λισσάνιος = ἀγαθός. R has λυσσάνιε, which the scholiast associates with λύσσα and glosses μαινόμενε. But the reading of the lexica is preferable as the *lectio difficilior*.

4.4.61.3. *Lys.* 983 ὦ κυρσάνιε

Also functions as a normal substantive (1248 τῷ κυρσανίῳ). Translated as 'young man' on the basis of Hesych. σκυρθάλιος· νεανίσκος; σκυρθάλια· μειράκια, ἔφηβοι (see *DELG* s.v.)

4.4.62. Proper names

4.4.62.1. Laconian

(i) Artemis

Laconian has Ἀρταμῖς, the usual West Greek form: e.g. (epigraphic): Ἀρταμιδ[ι] *IG* v/1. 1107a (= Schw. 45), Laconia, 5th c.; (literary) both Ἀρταμῖς and Ἀρτεμῖς are found in the Alcman quotations (not papyrus); see D. L. Page (1951: 140). See further Perpillou (1972: 123); Buck §13 for sporadic West Greek [a] in place of Attic [e].

1251 Ἀρταμιτίῳ (Ἀρτεμισίῳ B)

(ii) Helen

There is no sign in the MSS of an initial digamma (4.1.19), and the metre is no help. The form of the name has been disputed. Initial digamma is found in Δεινί[s] ταδ' ἀνεθεκε Χαρί[.] φελεναι

Μενελαφο, SEG 26.457 (675–650 BC), Sparta; *ται φελεναι* SEG 26.458 (6th c. BC), Sparta; cf. also SEG 28.407 and 36.356. The problem is that in other West Greek dialects (e.g. Corinthian) the name is found from earliest times without digamma. Skutsch (1987) has argued that Helen was an amalgam of two distinct deities; the one without digamma he identifies with the Rigvedic *Saraṇyu* (*saraṇā* ‘swift’), the other he connects with the root **szwel*, ‘shining’. On this view the proto-Greek forms would have been **selenā* and **szwelenā*. See also De Simone (1978) on the problem. For literary evidence of a form with initial digamma, cf. Dion. Hal. *A.R.* i.20, Marius Victorinus *GLK* vi.15, Priscian *GLK* ii.15 (e.g. *ὀφόμενος φέλεναν ἐλικώπιδα* PMG ad. 1011A).

155 τὰς Ἑλένας.

The sixth-century *φέλενα* may have had to compete with a variant *Ἑλένα*, against which it lost under the influence of epic. See also discussion in Arena (1971: 91).

(iii) Menelaus (Attic *Μενέλεως*)

Laconian [a:] and [o] generally contract to give [a:] (4.1.4.2, 4.1.19); this would give an epichoric Laconian form *Μενέλας* at this date: cf. epigraphic *Φεδίλας* IG v/1. 1564. 14 (Schw. 15), c.400; *Μενελαί* SEG 26.459, c.500. The earlier form is attested in *Μενελαφο*: 675–650 (SEG 26.457); *Ταχιστολαφος*: 550–525 (REG 1990, *Bull. Ep.* 419). See further Bechtel (ii. 313 f.).

Μενέλαος is found consistently in the MSS elsewhere in Aristophanes (though a trisyllabic acc. is needed at *Thesm.* 901): twice in regular trimeters (*Thesm.* 867; 910 dat.), and once in anapaestic tetr. (*Birds* 509). *Μενέλαος* (occasionally *Μενέλας*) is used in tragedy when required by the metre.

155 *Μενέλαος*: the metre excludes -λας, but would admit -λεως.
(iv) Mnemosyne

1248 *Μναμόνα* Wilamowitz, ὦ μναμόνα R, ὦ μναμοσύνα Bp.

This form of the word is not otherwise known. Blaydes (following Ahrens 1839–43: ii. 76) adopted ὦ *Μναμοῦνα*, supposing loss of intervocalic *s* in a formation which is basically Ionic. Wilamowitz suggested that the shorter form was built like other abstracts in -ονᾶ, comparing doublets such as *εὐφρόνη* / *εὐφροσύνη*.⁷⁹ Both would

⁷⁹ Wilamowitz, ad loc.: ‘vielleicht *μναμόνα* . . . ist das lakonische Wort gewesen, dem auf ionischem Gebiete *μνημοσύνη* entspricht; diese Ableitung ist dem Dorischen wohl fremd.’

be derivatives of the *n*-stem *μνάμων*. Whether this is a poetic creation or the regular Laconian equivalent of *μνημοσύνη* is uncertain; perhaps the latter. See further Chantraine (1933: §§165 f.).

4.4.62.2. Megarian: Poseidon

There is an attested form *Π[οτ]ε[ιδ]ανα* IG xiv. 268. 3 (Schw. 166) Sel., c.450. There are many instances of *Ποτειδαν-/Ποτειδα(φ)ον-* in neighbouring Corinthian.

798 *Ποτειδᾶ* Sommerstein; *Ποτιδᾶν* cj. Ahrens (1839-43: ii. 245); *Ποτειδα* a, B (accents differ); [*?Ποτει*]δα Pap.; *Ποσειδῶ* R (= Attic form).

The stem *Ποτει-* is in line with West Greek evidence. If the playwright wrote the ending *-a* he may have been influenced by the Attic form; or the text may be corrupt (so Ahrens).

4.4.62.3. Boeotian

(i) *Ίόλαος* (867)

The Attic equivalent (with quantitive metathesis) would be *Ίόλεως*. See Heubeck (1987) for the form of the name.

(ii) *Ίσμήνιχε* (954)

Cf. 861 *Ίσμηνία*. The suffix *-ιχος* is particularly associated with Boeotian names: see Bechtel (i. 264) for examples.

4.4.63. Oaths and expletives

Oaths tend to be rather stereotypical markers of foreign dialect or language, and are often used for superficial characterization. See Levin (1972).

4.4.63.1. Laconian

(i) *ναὶ τῶ σιώ* (9 ×), *οὐ τῶ σιώ* (1 ×)

Also at *Peace* 214. The two gods are Castor and Polydeuces. The oath is used by both male and female characters in *Lys*. Its Attic equivalent refers to Demeter and Kore and is associated with women in Aristophanic comedy; cf. *Eccl.* 155 f. (women disguised as men try to avoid using it). See 4.1.15, 4.3.5 above.

(ii) *ναὶ τὸν Κάστορα* (206, 988)

A deity particularly associated with Sparta; see preceding, and 4.3.5 above.

(iii) *οὐ τὸν Δί'* (986, 990)

A pan-Hellenic oath, used frequently by Aristophanic characters. See 4.3.5 above.

(iv) *φεύ δᾶ* (198)

An expression found in tragedy; cf. also Theocr. 4. 17 *οὐ δᾶν*. A scholion on Aesch. *Ag.* 1072 gives the following explanation of δᾶ: *γῆ Δωρικῶς. ὅθεν καὶ Δημήτηρ οἶον γημήτηρ*. Ahrens, however (1839-43: ii. 80), denied that there was any evidence for a Doric word δᾶ corresponding to γῆ,⁸⁰ and Fraenkel on *Ag.* 1072 concluded that 'there is no reason to believe that a Greek of classical times, when he heard δᾶ, understood it as meaning "earth" . . . [one must] see in δᾶ nothing but an exclamation'. The expression may have been current in Sparta (so Wilamowitz, *ad loc.*).

4.4.63.2. Megarian

(i) *ναὶ τὸν Διοκλέα* (774)

A Megarian hero (cf. Theocr. 12. 27-9).

The quantity of the final syllable is not confirmed by the metre; it would normally be short in Doric (so for example in Theocr. *loc. cit.* and occasionally in tragedy): K-G i 1. 448 Anm. 2. For uncontracted -κλέα in names (confirmed here by metre) cf. *δια Ηερακλεα IG* xiv. 268. 3 (Schw. 166) Sel., c.450. See 4.3.5 above.

(ii) *ναὶ τὸν Ἑρμᾶν* (742, 779), *Ἑρμᾶ 'μπολαίε* (816)

These appeals are directed to Hermes in his role as god of the market place, and do not possess a local (Megarian) significance. See 4.3.5 above.

(iii) *ναὶ τὸν Ποσειδᾶ* (798)

A pan-Hellenic oath: cf. *Ach.* 506 (Attic) *νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ*. See 4.1.17, 4.3.5, 4.4.54.2 above.

(iv) *ναὶ τὸν Φίλιον* (730)

Φίλιος is a title of Zeus, and is not specifically Megarian. See Sommerstein's note *ad loc.* for the relevance here. See 4.3.5 above.

⁸⁰ 'At ubicunque terrae significatio paullo certior est, in omnibus Doricae dialecti fontibus γᾶ legitur . . . et apparet eam grammaticulorum opinionem manasse ex interiectionibus *φεύ δᾶ* *Lysistr.* 198, etc. . . . Nunquam igitur Dores δᾶ pro γῆ.'

(v) *σά μάν* (757, 784)

Variants of *τί μῆν*; seem to have been particularly characteristic of West Greek; the expression is found in Epicharmus (149.1 Kaibel) and Sophron (55.1 Kaibel), and also in Aeschylus (where it betrays Sicilian influence on the playwright, according to Stanford 1938: 232). See 4.2.3.3, 4.3.4 above.

4.4.63.3. Boeotian

(i) *ἔττω Ἡρακλῆς* (860)

ἔστω in protestations is found in Homer. See also Levin (1972). Heracles was especially associated with Thebes (the place of his birth). He was also, of course, a notorious glutton (Thebans in comedy are constantly associated with food, as here). See 4.1.2.3, 4.1.14, 4.1.18 above; and Knoepfler (1974*b*).

(ii) *ἔττω Δεὺς* (911)

Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 62 A (the Theban Cebes): *ἔττω Ζεὺς, ἔφη, τῇ αὐτοῦ φωνῇ εἰπών* . . ., and [Plat.] *Ep.* 7. 345 A. See Levin (1972); and 4.1.11, 4.1.14, 4.1.18 above.

(iii) *νεὶ τὸν Ἰόλαον* (867)

Iolaus: the nephew and companion of Heracles, honoured in Thebes.

(iv) *νεὶ τὼ σιώ* (905; *θιώ* Blaydes)

It seems quite unlikely that the playwright wrote *σιώ*. The corruption is no doubt due to Laconian oaths in *Lys.* (*σιώ* from the same source got into the text of Thuc. 5. 77). Cf. 4.1.15 n. above. The two gods here are Amphiion and Zethus, the 'Theban Dioskouroi' (cf. Eur. *Her.* 29).

4.4.64. Conclusions

Differences in lexicon and idiom do not in general need to be pinned down by the metre, since the Attic equivalent of a dialect idiom will for the most part be of a completely different metrical shape. The instances listed above can be divided into two broad groups:

(i) Characteristic expressions (interjections, oaths, forms of address) which may be repeated several times during the course of the play.

(ii) Lexical terms which are substituted at specific points for their Attic equivalents. This group comprises items of vocabulary used by the dialect-speakers but not by the Athenians.

It should be noticed that the use of items in the second group implies a more substantial knowledge of the dialect than the use of items from group (i). The expressions and interjections of the first group are of the type (more or less stereotypical) which can be easily picked up and repeated to give a superficial dialect gloss when the bulk of the vocabulary and idioms being used do not belong to the dialect being imitated. Group (ii) includes words which imply avoidance of Atticisms such as ἦκω, and Attic pronominal forms. This group may also contain items which have a definite poetic or archaic ring in Attic (for the likely sociolinguistic implications of this see Cassio 1984). It is not always easy to draw a distinction between the two categories (for example, in the case of particles such as αὖ and μάν in the Doric dialects). Overall:

Laconian speakers have approximately 440 (non-lyric) words, of which around 15% may be classified as stereotypical interjections.

The Megarian speaker has approximately 430 words, of which around 5% may be classified as stereotypical interjections.

The Boeotian speaker has approximately 175 words, of which around 7% may be classified as stereotypical interjections. The higher proportion of interjections in the speech of the Spartans may be explained by the fact that they have a higher number of entrances (dialect speakers typically increase the obviousness of their dialect on entrance) and take part in discontinuous dialogue; the Megarian and the Boeotian enter just once and have more concentrated parts, with longer paragraphs of speech.

4.4.64.1. Laconian

Laconian speech is generously larded with interjections such as *va!* τὼ σιῶ, οἰῶ, δ' αὖ, and forms of address like ὦ πολυχαραῖδα.

There is also a large group of lexical items which are alien to Attic, and which appear to be characteristic of Doric or Laconian. These include well-attested and probably well-known Doricisms such as αἰ for εἰ, and less obvious items such as λῶ. It is striking

that a large number of lexical 'Laconisms' are words which are known from poetry; in some cases there is evidence to support the hypothesis that they were colloquial in Laconian, but in many cases there is no evidence apart from the Aristophanic text. This group includes ἔσθος, θιγεῖν, μογεῖν, μολεῖν. Unlike phonological and morphological features, it is difficult to assess the authenticity of lexical markers (except where known Atticisms are not avoided). Two considerations point to the conclusion that Aristophanes did not simply raid the poetic lexicon to characterize his Doric-speakers: firstly, the presence of words like μυθίζειν, which was not a feature of high poetry in the fifth century, but turns up later in Theocritus; and secondly, the absence of epicisms (contrast the presence of Ionic features in the 'literary Doric' of dramatic lyric).

4.4.64.2. Megarian

The Megarian uses a number of ethnic interjections, though slightly less often than the Boeotian who follows him on to the stage in a symmetrical role.

Like the Laconian speakers, the Megarian's speech is fairly consistently characterized by a number of Doric lexical markers. The avoidance of Attic ἦκω seems to have been a normal device in imitating non-Attic idiom; αἶ, κα, ποτί are other obvious lexical markers of West Greek. λῶ, ὀδελόν, σάκκος, πάσσακι are words which are not associated with literary Doric; τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' (820) is an Attic phrase. Apart from this, the lexical features in this section are evidence of a careful representation of the idiom of a West Greek dialect, though we are not in a position to know whether any particular lexical feature is specifically Megarian rather than generally West Greek.

4.4.64.3. Boeotian

The Boeotian uses four asseverative oaths while he is on stage. His part is short, and a significant portion consists in the simple listing of animals and birds. At least three of the above forms are characteristically Attic (ἄν, βούλομαι, εἶ). Some can be described as specifically Boeotian items, including ἰώγα, ὀρτάλιχος, and perhaps ἐπιχαρίζομαι. Other non-Attic items (e.g. γλάχων, μικκός, τύλη) are not restricted to Boeotian. The evidence of vocabulary is in line with the phonological and morphological aspects of the

Boeotian's speech: a higher proportion of Attic forms against the background of a generally convincing sketch of the dialect.

4.5. THE SONGS AT THE END OF *LYSISTRATA*

We have already noted that the two dialect passages in lyric in *Lysistrata* merit special treatment; in the linguistic discussion of these passages Laconian forms did not generally have the same status as evidence, since it is difficult to guarantee dialect features in such a complex metre. But there is another difficulty to be taken into account: we have seen that many words which appear to have been colloquial in Laconian had an archaic or poetic ring to Attic ears; and that a few of the Laconian dialect features of *Lysistrata* can be found in lyric sections of Attic tragedy. In forms such as ἀμοῖσι (1181), therefore, there is an overlap (and a tension) between literary dialect and epichoric dialect. In the present section we shall look at the language of the two choruses and consider whether there is any evidence for literary Doric dialect in addition to the epichoric Laconian.

It will be worth examining any differences in language between the Laconian lyrics (1247–72, 1296–1320) and the Laconian iambics, and between the Laconian lyrics and the Athenian lyrics of 1279–94.

4.5.1. The first Spartan song (1247–72)

This song, which accompanied the Spartan *dipodia* dance (1243), has a number of poetic and cult forms which would not normally appear in iambic metre (the metre of normal dialogue). Apart from these differences, which are lexical, the language used appears to be identical with that of the iambic dialogue. Zimmermann notes that the metre recalls the rhythms of Doric lyric.⁸¹ The chief linguistic features are:

⁸¹ Zimmermann (1985: 44), 'Die metrische Form, synkopierte trochäische Verse und Daktylen, evoziert die in dorischem Dialekt verfaßten daktylo-epitrischen oder -trochäischen Lieder eines Simonides . . . Die Verbindung von Trochäen und Daktylen . . . findet sich auch in Alkmans *Partheneion* (fr. 1 PMG).'

(i) Cult/hymnic vocabulary: ἀγροτέρα σηροκτόνε, κυναγέ παρσένε.

(ii) Poetic usages: σιείκελοι, ἄνση (metaphorical).

(iii) Laconian features found also in the iambic dialogue (note that these are not features which form part of the Doricizing repertoire of Attic lyric): δ' αὖ for δέ, parenthetical οἰῶ, [-h-] for intervocalic -s-, σ for θ, apocope, ω for ου, ἀμέ

(iv) Non-serious usage: αἰμυλᾶν ἀλωπέκων 'foxy wiles'.

4.5.2. The second Spartan song (1296–1320; exodos)

It has been argued⁸² that this is more locally Spartan in character than the first song. This is true of the subject-matter and the metre, but in language it seems to be identical with the first (which is very Laconian in character anyway). The song is addressed to specifically Spartan deities (Apollo at Amyclae, Athena *Khalki-oikos*, Castor and Polydeuces) and glorifies Laconia. The metre is designed to recall rhythms associated with Sparta, for example rhythms used by Alkman, and anapaests, which were a feature of Spartan battle marches.⁸³ Its chief linguistic features are:

(i) Cult/hymnic vocabulary: Χαλκίοικον ἄνασσαν, ὦ εἶα κοῦφα πᾶλον, παμμάχον.

(ii) Poetic usages: ἀγκονίωαί, χορωφελήταν, etc. There are also words which have a highly poetic flavour: ἔραννόν (Aeolic/Homeric), κλέωά (κλέω, 'celebrate'), κόρα.

(iii) Laconian features found in iambic dialogue: [-h-] for intervocalic -s-, ω for ου, ε raised to ι before a back vowel, -δδ- for -ζ-, apocope, 3rd pl. in -ντι, 1st pl. in -μες.

4.5.3. The Athenian song (1279–94)

(i) Cult/hymnic vocabulary: ἀγέχορον, δαίεται, πυρὶ φλεγόμενον, πότνιαν ἄλοχον ὀλβίαν, etc. Ecstatic cries 1291–4.

(ii) Poetic usages: tmesis ἐπὶ . . . κάεσον, anaphora ἐπὶ δέ, personification of ἡσυχία (cf. *Pythian* 8. 1 f.).

⁸² e.g. Henderson (1987) ad loc.

⁸³ Zimmermann (1985: 42 ff.): 'Ar. geht es auch in diesem Lied darum, typisch lakonisches Kolorit durch das verwendete Metrum entstehen zu lassen . . . Die zwei eröffnenden katalektischen iambischen Trimeter findet man auch bei Alkman (z.B. Fr. 59.2, 96 *PMG*); ionische Anaklasis in iambischen Kola liegt häufig in Alkmans Gedichten vor.'

(iii) Linguistic characteristics: Attic η for $\bar{a}$, $\pi\omicron$ - for $\pi\omicron\iota$ -, final - ν where convenient.

In 1282 Henderson prints $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\rho\omicron\nu$ (otherwise unattested), where the rough breathing implies a long a (i.e. $\acute{\eta}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ rather than $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$). He suggests 'Perhaps the ambassador wants to give the invocation some Doric colouring'. But one vowel in one word is scarcely enough to lend Doric colouring to the passage in the absence of any other Doricizing elements.

The Athenian song, then, is similar to the Laconian songs in that, apart from poetic usages and vocabulary associated with the kletic form, the language is exactly the same as in the iambic dialogue. A possible explanation for the absence of Doric colouring is the religious nature of the ode: Sommerstein (ad loc.) comments: 'Like most kletic songs in Ar. it reflects in form and content the usages of actual life.' This observation can be extended to the language: there is no reason why hymns and prayers in real life should have had a Doric colouring.

4.5.4. Conclusion

It looks as though Aristophanes has used the same sorts of features to indicate Laconian speakers in the choral passages as in the iambic dialogue. The difference between the two lies in the slightly higher, more 'poetic' register of the lexicon, and in the kletic vocabulary that one would normally associate with hymns and invocations. There is a sharp distinction between the language of the Laconian choral passage and that of its Athenian equivalent.

If this conclusion is not surprising, it is interesting for the following reason: literary and epigraphic evidence suggests that in serious writing (or attempts at serious writing) peculiarly local dialect features might be toned down, sometimes (but not always) in the direction of the literary dialect associated with the genre in which one was writing. Mickey (1981) has shown that verse inscriptions before c.400 show a tendency to avoid peculiarly local characteristics; a useful example she cites is the avoidance of the genitive ending $-\omicron\iota(o)$ in Thessalian, which would have had the support of Epic as a form suitable for verse. With this in mind we should at least note that Aristophanes does not appear to create any distinction between the linguistic forms of the colloquial

iambics and those of the choral passages (i.e. between 'everyday Laconian' and 'high Doric').

Wilamowitz has an interesting discussion of the Laconian choruses. Concerning the language he concludes that Aristophanes used Alcman as a source and model for his representation of Laconian.⁸⁴ While it is not impossible that Aristophanes was influenced to a certain extent by the text of Alcman (we have seen that he uses rhythms characteristic of Alcman in these passages), it is likely that the Alcman text that Aristophanes knew looked different from the one that has come down (in a very fragmentary state) to us. For a start, Alcman can hardly have written σ for θ , since there is no evidence that this sound-change had taken place at the time he was writing (second half of the 7th century). Secondly, there are features in Aristophanes' Laconian which are not present in Alcman (e.g. intervocalic $-s- > [-h-]$), and features in Alcman which are not present in Aristophanes (e.g. $\nu\theta/\nu\tau$ for $\lambda\theta/\lambda\tau$, $*-ονσ- > -οισ-$).

We anticipated earlier the theoretical difficulty that, since lyric passages of Attic drama were given a Doric colouring, the Laconian features of the choral passages discussed above might be ascribable to literary Doric rather than imitation of an epichoric dialect. However, it is clear that this is not in fact the case: the specific Laconian characteristics we find are certainly never used as part of the *dorische Kunstsprache* of Attic drama. On closer examination this latter literary Doric is remarkably feeble: it consists mostly in the irregular and sometimes hyper-Doric use of $\bar{a}$ for η . There are also instances of apocope of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ and $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}$ (e.g. $\pi\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\omega$), masculine a -stems with gen. sing. in $-\bar{a}$ and gen. plur. in $-\acute{\alpha}\nu$, use of $\nu\nu$ for $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$. The strongest non-Attic elements in tragic diction are in fact Homeric and Ionic (often difficult to distinguish).

⁸⁴ Wilamowitz (1900: §8, pp. 94 f.): 'Damit ist erreicht was denn doch auch das weitaus natürlichste ist, daß Aristophanes seine Dialektstudien auf den Text des Dichters Alkman, des einzigen lakonisch, gegründet hat, daß er geschrieben hat wie wir ihn lesen, und daß er die Schriften nachahmte, die er vor sich hatte.'

Old Comedy: Shorter Passages and Fragments

5.0. GENERAL

In this chapter we shall look at three related areas of language variation which can usefully be compared:

(i) Isolated instances of non-Attic dialect in the surviving plays and in fragments (Aristophanic and non-Aristophanic). This is in a sense a continuation of the last chapter, which looked at the three major sources of non-Attic dialect in the extant plays. The shorter passages are slightly different in nature, however, and cannot be treated in exactly the same way. Furthermore, in the case of the fragments we cannot tell how important a role the dialect passage played in context, or how extended the passage was. This is a familiar problem, outlined by Lobel in the introduction to his edition of Sappho:¹

Since it often happens that quotations are neither accurate, consecutive, nor complete, it is frequently impossible, in the absence of context, to grasp their sense or their metre, and, since the dialect was sometimes strange to the quoter and perhaps always strange to the copyist, a characteristic of the quotations, even in manuscripts otherwise carefully and correctly written, is deep-seated corruption.

Except for the fact that we are generally sure about the metre, this applies also to fragments of Old Comedy which preserve dialect or other non-standard language.

(ii) References to non-standard Attic dialect in Old Comedy. The purpose of this is to see how much material of this type survives, and to use it for contrast and comparison with the dialect material.

¹ Lobel (1925: x). The passage is cited by D. L. Page (1951: 103) for its relevance to Aleman.

(iii) Instances of, and references to, the language of non-Greek foreigners ('barbarians') in Old Comedy. This type of material in other genres of Greek literature has already been considered in Chapter 2. Foreigners and their language in Aristophanes have attracted attention in recent work; what is important from our point of view is to compare the treatment of the language of foreigners with that of the language of non-Attic Greeks.

5.1. GREEK DIALECT

5.1.1. *Ionian*

5.1.1.1. Aristophanes: *Peace* 43-8

Two slaves have been discussing the voracious dung-beetle that it is their task to feed.

Slave A: οὐκοῦν ἂν ἤδη τῶν θεατῶν τις λέγοι
νεανίας δοκησίσοφος, "τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα τί;
ὁ κύνθαρος δὲ πρὸς τί;"

Slave B: κᾶτ' αὐτῷ γ' ἀνὴρ
Ἰωνικός τίς φησι παρακαθήμενος,
"δοκέω μὲν, ἔς Κλέωνα τοῦτ' αἰνίττεται,
ὥς κείνος ἐν Αἴδεω σπατίλην ἐσθλεί."

48 ἀναιδέως τὴν σπατίλην MSS

SLAVE A. Well, by now some young man in the audience, who fancies himself clever, may be saying, 'What's all this about? What has the beetle got to do with?'

SLAVE B. Yes, and then an Ionian fellow sitting beside him says to him: 'My opinion is he's using it to allude to Cleon—saying that he's eating muck in Hades.' (Tr. Sommerstein.)

There is no obvious dramatic reason for the introduction of an imaginary Ionian at this point. Non-Athenians were present at the City Dionysia, especially Athenian allies who had come to the city with their annual tribute.² The Ionian is no doubt imagined to be from one of the tribute-states. There are a number of possible reasons for his brief introduction. Firstly, a propensity for being didactic and a fondness for offering explanations was no doubt associated with Ionians in Athens; the adjective *Ἰωνικός* seems to

² Cf. Σ on *Ach.* 378: 'He produced the play 'Babylonians' at the festival of Dionysus, which was held in the season in which the allies brought their tribute.'

have had connotations of effeminacy and pretentious intellectualism: cf. *Thesm.* 163, where Agathon argues that (since art reflects life) the great lyric poets ἐμυτροφόρουν τε καὶ χλιδῶν Ἰωνικῶς.³ Secondly, the combination of obscenity and the interpretation of *ainoi* (riddling tales) was reminiscent of Ionian iambic poetry (especially Archilochus).⁴ Thirdly, Ionians had a special reason for hating Cleon, since he was perceived as the principal supporter of the war with Sparta.

Phonology/Morphology

αἰνίττεται: Ionic, in common with most other dialects, has -σσ- for Attic -ττ-, but all MSS give -ττ- here. Platnauer's suggestion (ad loc.) that 'Attic ττ and Ionic σσ were possibly differences only of spelling, not of pronunciation, by the year 421' is quite unlikely.

δοκέω: Attic δοκῶ. Usually uncontracted in non-Attic dialects.

Ἰδεω: Attic Ἰδου (e.g. *Frogs* 69).

ἐς (Attic εἰς)—cf. 4.2.5.3 above, and 5.1.1.3 below.

Lexicon/Idiom

κεῖνος (Attic ἐκεῖνος)

σπατίλην 'liquid excrement' (Hesych.). The word is found only in Hippocrates, and may have been confined to Ionic.

δοκέω μέν (parenthetic): looks like an Ionic mannerism. For μέν in this position cf. Denniston (1954: 382).

This passage is discussed by Cassio (1985: 106 with n. 1), who, however, reads ἀναιδέως in l. 48.

5.1.1.2. Aristophanes: *Peace* 929–36

Trygaeus and his slave are discussing what sort of animal they should sacrifice when the new goddess Peace is officially installed. The slave has rejected Trygaeus' suggestions of an ox or a sow.

Τρ. τῷ δαὶ δοκεῖ σοι δῆτα τῶν λοιπῶν;

Οἱ. οἶ.

Τρ. οἶ; Οἱ. ναὶ μὰ Δί'. Τρ. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γ' ἔστ' Ἰωνικόν
τὸ ῥῆμ'. Οἱ. ἐπίτηδές γ', ἦν', ὅταν ἐν τῇκυκλησίᾳ
ὥς χρεὶ πολεμεῖν λέγῃ τις, οἱ καθήμενοι

³ 'Minced and wore bandeaux in Ionian fashion' (tr. Sommerstein); see Cassio (1981) and (1985: 105 ff.).

⁴ See Rosen (1984); for a wider treatment Rosen (1988, esp. ch. 2).

ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους λέγῳς Ἰωνικῶς “οἶ” —
 Tr. εὐ τοι λέγεις. Οἶ. —καὶ τᾶλλα γ’ ὧσιν ἦπιοι.
 ὥστ’ ἐσόμεθ’ ἀλλήλοισιν ἄμνοὶ τοὺς τρόπους
 καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισι πρῶτεροι πολύ.

Tr. Which of the other animals, then, do you think we should use?

SLAVE. Oi! [A sheep]

Tr. Oi?

SLAVE. Certainly.

Tr. But that’s an Ionic word.

SLAVE. That’s right, so that whenever anybody in the Assembly argues that we ought to go to war, the audience panic and cry ‘Oi!’ in Ionic . . .

Tr. Good idea!

SLAVE. . . . and so that they’ll be soft in other ways too; we’ll be like lambs in our behaviour to each other, and much milder towards our allies.

οἶ: supposedly the dative (= instrumental) of ὄ(φ)ις. The word is rare in Attic prose; πρόβατον is used instead.⁵ The noise being referred to is clearly a yelp of fear or horror. οἶ is attested in literature (cf. οἶμοι) in such a capacity; its exact metrical pattern is ambiguous in, e.g., Soph. *Electra* 674: οἶ γὰρ τάλαιν’, ὄλωλα . . . Notice the implication of effeminacy in ἦπιοι (which is why an Ionic word is ἐπίτηδες, suitable). See also Cassio (1985: 110f.).

5.1.1.3. Aristophanes: *Triphales* (Athenaeus 12. 525 A = PCG 556)

ἔπειθ’ ὅσοι παρήσαν ἐπίσημοι ξένοι
 ἐπηκολούθουν κήντεβόλουν προσκείμενοι
 “ὅκως ἔχων τὸν παῖδα πωλήσει ὁ Χίον”,
 ἕτερος δ’ “ὅκως ἐς Κλαζομένας”, ἕτερος δ’ “ὅκως
 ἐς Ἐφεσον”, ὁ δ’ “ἐς Ἀβυδον”, ἦν τ’ δ’ ἐκεῖ ἀπανθ’ “ὅκως”.

MSS εἰς Ἐφεσον, εἰς Ἀβυδον

Then all the distinguished foreigners who were present were following him around and entreating him, ‘be sure to [*hokōs*] go to Chios with the boy’, another, ‘be sure to go to Clazomenae’, or ‘be sure to go to Ephesus’, or ‘be sure to go to Abydos’, everywhere you turned it was ‘be sure to’.

An Attic speaker is imitating Ionic. Note that it is not the dialect of a specific area (e.g. Chios or Clazomenae) that is being imitated, but East Ionic as a whole. The features which identify the Ionic are:

⁵ Cf. López-Eire (1991: 14f.).

ἐς for εἰς: (i) Preconsonantal *πωλήσει* ᾑ: presumably aphaeresis of ἐς, though εἰς is not impossible (cf. *Lys.* 605). (ii) Prevocalic: modern editors generally change the two instances of εἰς to ἐς (the second is metrically required, White 1914: 50). The double treatment of *ἐνς to ἐς before a consonant and εἰς before a vowel is in fact attested in Ionic inscriptions (Thumb-Sch. p. 238); firm conclusions are impossible here owing to the state of the text (Meineke keeps εἰς), but ἐς would be an obvious marker of Ionic (εἰς being normal in spoken comic Attic: 4.2.5.3.)

ὄκως for ὄπως (√**k^wo-*); the reasons for Ionic *k-* in this root are unclear, cf. Lejeune (1972: §31). *κ* does not as a rule alternate with Attic *π*.

πωλέομαι (epic, Archilochus; not used in Attic). The expected ending in East Ionic would be -*εαι* or (with contraction) -*ηι*. All these characteristics fall into the category of lexicon/idiom.

5.1.1.4. Ameipsias: *The Sling*

Athenaeus 9. 400 C and 10. 446 D (= PCG 17)

(i) (On *λαγός* 'hare') εἶτα ἐστι τὸ μὲν Ἰακὸν λαγός·

λαγὸν ταραξας πῖθι τὸν θαλάσσιον.

τὸ δὲ λαγὼς Ἀττικόν.

Further, the Ionic form is *lagos* [hare], as in 'Stir in the sea-hare and drink'. The Attic form is *lagōs*.

(ii) (On *πῖθι* 'drink') Ἀμειψίας Σφενδόνη λαγὸν—θαλάσσιον.

Ameipsias in *The Sling*: 'Stir in the sea-hare and drink'.

Presumably the line is spoken either by an Ionian doctor, or (since the prescription seems to be poisonous) by someone imitating a doctor.

Two markers of Ionic are the word *λαγός* (which got into the *koine*, as Athen. indicates), and the *σσ* in *θαλάσσιον*.

5.1.1.5. Eupolis: *Flatterers* (Pollux 7. 191 = PCG 170)

Εὐπολις δὲ Κόλαξι·

κεκρύφαλοί τε καὶ τύλη

Hair-nets and a cushion

The reason for suspecting a dialect-speaker here is that *τύλη* ('porter's hump' or 'cushion') is said not to be an Attic word; cf. Rutherford 1881: 256 (s.v.), *τύλην, εἰ καὶ εὖροις που, σὺ κνέφαλον λέγε*. ('You should say "knephalon" rather than "tulē", even if you come across an attestation.') In the same passage Pollux has *καὶ τυλεῖα παρ' Εὐπόλιδι ἐστὶν ἰάζοντι ἐν τοῖς Κόλαξι* ('and Eupolis uses the word "tuleia" in Ionic dialect in *The Flatterers*') which led Meineke to suspect that the fragment above was spoken by Protagoras, whom we know to have been a character in the play. Cf. Aristot. *Περὶ παιδείας* (fr. 63R):

*πρῶτος τὴν καλουμένην τύλην, ἐφ' ἧς τὰ φορτία βασιτάζουσιν,
εὗρεν.*

he [Protagoras] was the first to invent the so-called 'tule', on which they carry burdens.⁶

See also Cassio (1985: 114).

5.1.1.6. Eupolis: unknown play (*PCG* 341)

μὴ τρηχὺς ἴσθι.

Don't be difficult.

The Attic form of *τρηχὺς* is *τραχὺς*. It may be that the speaker is Ionic; cf. Ar. *Peace* 1086 (where it is used by Hierocles, in a pseudo-epic hexameter suitable for oracles), and 1114 (almost identical; Trygaeus mimics Hierocles).

5.1.1.7. Eupolis: unknown play (*PCG* 464): Et. Mag.

καὶ παρ' Εὐπόλιδι "λελάβηκα".

Here we are told that Eupolis used *λελάβηκα* as the perfect of *λαμβάνω* (Attic *εἴληφα*). This may appear in the mouth of an Ionic speaker. The form is found in Herodotus (e.g. 4. 79. 4). The perfect forms of this verb are discussed by Slings (1986).

5.1.1.8. Conclusion

As the expanded idiom based on Attic-Ionic (the basis of the *koine*) grew in the last quarter of the fifth century, linguistic forms

⁶ See Heinimann (1961: 115), with nn. 43-4.

which originated in Ionic must have had a variety of connotations in Attic comedy, ranging from the technical and sophisticated to the (more traditional) decadent and effeminate. Thus Ionic forms such as the dative plural *δικηκοσίῃσι* at *Knights* 659 may be used to give an Ionic flavour, but are not supposed to suggest Ionic speakers,⁷ and the coined *ὀδοιπλανοῦντες* at *Ach.* 69 (a comic echo of the Ionic *ὀδοιπορεῖν*) characterizes the luxurious journey of the ambassadors through Asia Minor.⁸

5.1.2. *Laconian*

5.1.2.1. Aristophanes: *Peace* 212–14.

Hermes explains to Trygaeus that the Spartans (just like the Athenians) refused to consider peace when they thought they had the upper hand.

Hermes: κεῖ μὲν οἱ Λακωνικοὶ
ὑπερβάλοιτο μικρόν, ἔλεγον ἂν ταδί.
“ναὶ τὼ σίῳ, νῦν ἄττικίων δωσεῖ δίκην.”

If the Laconians gained a small advantage, this is what they'd say: 'Ah, by the Twin Gods, now the Attic boys will get what's coming to them!' (Tr. Sommerstein.)

The characteristic expression *ναὶ τὼ σίῳ* is put into the mouths of Spartans in *Lysistrata* and elsewhere (4.4.63.1. above).

δίκην: all MSS. Editors change to *δίκαν*.

δωσεῖ: there is no guarantee that Aristophanes intended the circumflex on the second syllable (cf. 4.2.6.4 above).

ἄττικίων = *ὁ ἄττικίων*, a diminutive: *Ὠττικίων* Coulon etc., without manuscript authority (cf. 4.1.1.4 above).

5.1.2.1. Epilycus: *Coraliscus* (Athenaeus 4. 140 A = PCG 4)

ποττὰν Κοπίδ', οἶῶ, σῶμαι.
ἐν Ἀμύκλαισιν† παρ' Ἀπέλλῳ
βάρακες πολλοὶ κάρτοι
καὶ δωμός τοι μάλα ἀδύς . . .

1–2 : *οἰωσωμ' αἰὲν ἀμυκλαῖον* MSS; *Ἀμύκλαιν* Blaydes, van Herwerden]

⁷ ' . . . such Ionic forms appear to have a hieratic ring about them, being used in prayers at 763 and *Birds* 867', Sommerstein ad loc. See also Cassio (1985: 150).

⁸ See López Eire (1993: 46).

I reckon I'll go to the Kopis [Festival]. In Apollo's place at Amyclae there are barley cakes a-plenty, and wheaten loaves, and a broth that's really good . . .

This play was clearly set (at least in part) in Laconia: Amyclae was a sanctuary a couple of miles south of Sparta, and the *Κοπῖς* was a Spartan festival. Note that even the title of the play is a Doric word.⁹ The speaker of these lines is a Laconian speaker, not an Attic character imitating Laconian. Features which identify the dialect as Laconian are as follows:

Phonology

Apocope: ποτάν (4.2.5.1)

$\bar{a}$ for Attic η : τάν, ἄδύς, βάρᾱκες (4.1.2.1; Hesych. lists a form βήραξ, but the word may not have been in use in Attic.)

δ- for Attic ζ-: δωμός (4.1.1.1).

Ἀπέλλω: ablaut grade *e* instead of *o* in this name is attested in Doric and Arcado-Cypriot inscriptions. Cf. Buck §49.3.

No conclusions need be drawn from the intervocalic *s* in Ἀμύκλαισιν, since this has no status in the text. In any case, the long dative plur. is a literary form which was alien to Laconian (cf. 4.2.1.2).

Syntax

παρ' Ἀπέλλω: in this sense of Lat. *apud*, παρὰ would normally take the dative in Attic. Cf. Thuc. 5. 23. 5, παρ' Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ (4.3.1.1).

Lexicon/Idiom

ποτί for Attic πρὸς (4.2.5.5)

parenthetic οἶῶ (4.4.36).

σῶμαι. The phonological equivalent in Attic is σοῦμαι (cf. σεύω), but the word is restricted to tragic lyric, etc. (cf. *Wasps* 209, 458). Glossed by Hesychius and ascribed to the Dorians.

5.1.2.3. Eupolis: *Helots*

5.1.2.3.1. Athenaeus 4. 138 E-F (= PCG 147)

καὶ Εὐπολὶς ἐν Εἰλωσι·

αἷκα γένηται τοῖσδε σάμερον Κοπῖς.

αἷκα edd., καὶ MSS

If the Kopis [Festival] is happening for these men today [?]

⁹ A short vowel would be expected in Lac. (cf. 4.1.19). The word is a diminutive of κῶρος = κοῦρος. Cf. Hesych. κωραλίσκον· τὸ μειράκιον. Κρήτες ('Koraliskos: a lad. Used by the Cretans').

There is no reason to suppose that this line does not occur in the mouth of a Laconian character. The title of the play clearly indicates that most if not all of the action will have taken place in Laconia.

aĩka is a useful conjecture, since it accounts for the mood of the verb, and makes the line into a full trimeter. It is a feature of Laconian which characterizes the speech of the Spartans in the *Lysistrata* also. The other Doric feature in the line is *σάμερον* (Attic *τήμερον*, Ionic *σήμερον*) < **kī-āmeron*. This contains two non-Attic phonological features, viz. the initial *σ*- and the long *a*.

Κοπίς was a Spartan festival (see preceding section).

5.1.2.3.2. Herodian ii. 917. 1L (= PCG 149)

ὁ δὲ τοὺς *Εἰλωτας* [sc. *γράφας*] τὴν γενικὴν φησί

τέμενος Ποτιδᾶ ποντίω [ποντίω MSS]

The author of *Helots* has a genitive [sc. in long *-ā*] in 'the sanctuary of Poseidon [Potidā] of the sea'.

The reference here is no doubt to the sanctuary of Poseidon at Tainaron, supposedly a place of asylum for the helots (Thuc. i. 128. 1).

As with frg. 147, there is no reason to suppose that these words are not spoken by a Laconian character. Features which distinguish the speech from Attic are:

Phonology

τ in Ποτιδᾶ where Attic changes to *σ* (cf. 4.4.62.2, Megarian). It is curious that in Laconian, differently from other Doric dialects, a form in Ποιοι- is attested (i.e. with *-h-* < *-s-*). See Bourguet (1927: 50 f.) for discussion.

ω for secondary long *ο* (= Attic *ου*, 4.1.5.2).

Morphology

masc. *a*-stem genitive in [a:] < [a:ο].

5.1.2.3.3. Aristophanes, *Knights* 1225

ἐγὼ δέ τυ ἐστεφάνιζα κάδωρησάμαν.

κάδωρησάμην RVAΓ, κάδωρησάμαν M; ἐγών Blaydes]

Σ: μμείται δὲ τοὺς εἰλωτας, ὅταν στεφανώσι τὸν Ποσειδῶνα.

I have crowned and gifted thee. Scholiast: He is imitating the Helots, when they crown Poseidon.

Commentators assume that this line is paratragic. However, we have noted that literary Doric does not usually include the accusative form $\tau\nu$ (4.2.2.3), or the aorist in $-\xi-$ of verbs in $-\zeta\omega$ (4.2.6.3). It looks more like the type of imitation of epichoric dialect we find in *Lysistrata*.

An obvious conclusion, since the line is clearly a quotation of some sort, is that it refers to another comedy. This would be unusual, but Sommerstein argues that it enables us to account for the story that Eupolis had a share in the composition of the *Knights*.¹⁰

The line exhibits the two morphological features mentioned above, and the expected phonological $\bar{a}$ for η in the ending of $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\omega\rho\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\nu$ (4.1.2.1); conversely crasis would give Laconian η in the first syllable (4.1.1.2).

5.1.2.4. Adespoton: 1035 fr. 2 PCG

Fifteen lines of fragmentary text. Crönert gives a summary of as much as can be gathered from the text.¹¹ It appears heavily restored in Edmonds (anon. fr. 5E, p. 953) with a 'translation'. An Athenian and a Spartan (Euarchidas) are talking; the topic of the dialogue seems to be word-play concerning the appropriateness of names. Wilamowitz suggested that the fragment was from Plato's *Laconians*, Crönert suggested Philyllius' *Cities*. See further Geissler (1979: 69).

5.1.3. Other Doric Dialect

5.1.3.1. Aristophanes: *Wasps* 1427-9, 1438-40

Philocleon is telling riddles to annoy his accusers.

1427: ἀνὴρ Συβαρίτης ἐξέπεσεν ἐξ ἄρματος . . .
 κάπειτ' ἐπιστάς εἰπ' ἀνὴρ αὐτῷ φίλος
 "ἔρδοι τις ἦν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην."

1. A man of Sybaris fell off his chariot . . . whereupon a friend of his came up and said 'A man should stick to the job he knows'.

¹⁰ Sommerstein (1980), referring to Σ^E *Clouds* 554. In 423 (the year after the production of *Knights*) Cratinus in his play *Putine* attacked Aristophanes for 'using the words of Eupolis' (Σ^a *Knights* 531 = PCG 213); this was a retort to Aristophanes, who had accused him in the *Knights*, 526 f., of plagiarism.

¹¹ Crönert (1922) the ed. pr.

1438: εἴθ' ἡ Συβαρίτις εἶπεν, "εἰ ναὶ τὰν Κόραν
τὴν μαρτυρίαν ταύτην ἔασας ἐν τάχει
ἐπίδεσμον ἐπρίω, νοῦν ἂν εἶχες πλείονα."

2. Then the woman of Sybaris said, 'By the Maiden, if you had left off calling for witnesses and quickly bought a bandage you would have had more sense'.

Sybaris (on the western side of the gulf of Tarentum) was a colony of Achaea. The dialect spoken in this area would have been North-West Greek. There is no reason to suppose that Philocleon (or Aristophanes) would have been able to imitate the specific features of the speech of Sybaris, and there is no evidence in the text that he makes the attempt. It should be noted also that the imaginary Sybarites here are merely characters in conventional anecdotes akin to the fables of Aesop; the 'Sybaritic stories' (*Συβαριτικοὶ λόγοι*) were witty stories with a vague moral which took as their subject the legendary decadence and stupidity of the people of Sybaris. The first line was a well-known proverb, which Cicero refers to in a letter to Atticus (*Att.* 5. 10. 3: 'o illud verum ἔρδοι τις!').

The language is not dialect, but instead vaguely archaizing: ἔρδω is not used in Attic prose, and an optative for a command is reminiscent of Epic. In the second piece a bow in the direction of West Greek is made in the expression ναὶ τὰν Κόραν,¹² but the rest of the quotation is in Attic. Thus *η* for *ā*, *εἰ* for *αἰ*, *ἂν* for *κα*, etc.

5.1.3.2. Crates: *PCG* 46 (unknown play): Pollux (under 'Doctors' tools')

καὶ μὴν καὶ σικύα ἐν τι τῶν ἐργαλείων, ὡς Κράτης ὁ κωμικός·

ἀλλὰ σικύαν ποτιβαλῶ τοι καὶ τὸ λῆς ἀποσχάσω

τοι: σοι MSS; καὶ τὸ λῆς· κἀνατλῆς, κάταλις MSS; ἀποσχασῶ Edmonds

And indeed a cup is one of their tools, as Crates the comic playwright has it: '... but I shall apply my cup, and lance it too if you like'.

The line is the only surviving example of a Doric doctor in Old Comedy.¹³ Doctors were stereotypically speakers of Doric

¹² A scholion ad loc. notes that the deity is Persephone, and says 'It was a local habit in the neighbourhood of Sicily to swear by *the Maiden*, since Hades is supposed to have snatched her from there'.

¹³ There are a few other examples from Middle and New Comedy: Alexis, *PCG*

(though the works of the Hippocratic corpus are written in Ionic); there were famous schools of medicine in Sicily, Cos, and Cnidus. Laconian features in the line are:

Phonology/Morphology

τυ for συ (4.2.2.3)

ποτι- for προς- (4.2.5.5)

Lexicon

(κ)αἰ for (κ)εἰ (4.4.2)

The verb λῶ/λῆν (Attic θέλω, 4.4.30).

5.1.3.3. Philyllius: *The Cities* (PCG 10): Pollux 10. 58:

λέγει γέ τοι δωρίζων

ἐκ τᾶς πινακίδος διαμπερέως ὃ τι κα λέγοι
τὰ γράμματα ἑρμήνευε.

κᾶν λέγοι MSS

And he says in Doric: 'Read out¹⁴ clearly from the tablet whatever the letters say.'

Two features which distinguish this from Attic are the $\bar{a}$ in τᾶς and the modal particle κα in place of ᾗν (4.1.2.1, 4.4.24). Dubois compares *Lys.* 1080 (τί κα λέγοι τις;) where R has κᾶν, and argues, unconvincingly, that in both passages one should read καν instead of κα.¹⁵ If the optative is sound (κα λέγῃ cj. Meineke, καὶ λέγει Cobet, Kock) this will be a dialectal use of the opt. with modal particle, for which see Solmsen (1908: 333).

5.1.3.4. Apollonophanes: *The Cretans* (PCG 7): Athenaeus 11. 485 E

καὶ λεπαστά μ' ἀδύοινοσ εὐφρανεῖ δι' ἀμέρας

ἀμέρας: ἡμ- MSS

... and the sweet drinking-cup will keep me happy through the day

146 (Athen. 14.621 D), Menander, *Aspis* 374-464 (with Austin and Sandbach ad loc.); cf. Epicrates PCG 10.27 f.

¹⁴ For this meaning of ἐρμηνεύειν see Most (1986: 309).

¹⁵ Dubois (1988: i. 229), 'La similitude des deux passages doriens incite à considérer que τί καν λέγοι est une expression dorienne ancienne dont la structure métrique s'adaptait parfaitement à celle du trimètre iambique.'

The Doric $\bar{\alpha}$ in ἀδύ- and λεπαστά (final alpha) justifies the change to ἀμέρας (4.1.2.1). The speaker is presumably from Crete.

5.1.3.5. Teleclides: unknown play (PCG 63)

Hesych. *Εὐτρηΐους· τοὺς ἀπὸ Εὐτρήσεως, τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀρκαδίας. Δωρικῶς δὲ εἶρηκε Τηλεκλείδης. θέλει γὰρ εἰπεῖν Εὐτρησίους.*

Hesych. reports that Teleclides uses *h* in place of intervocalic *s* 'in the Doric fashion' in speaking of the Eutresians, the inhabitants of Eutresis in Arcadia. For the phonology see 4.1.17 above.

5.1.3.6. Callias: unknown play (PCG 36)

Phot. *μαμμᾶν· Ἀργεῖοι τὸ ἐσθίειν. οὕτω Καλλίας.*

Allegedly, *μαμμᾶν* is an Argive gloss meaning 'to eat'. This is uncertain. Cf. the baby-language at *Clouds* 1383, *μαμμᾶν δ' ἂν αἰτῆσαντος ἥκόν σοι φέρων ἂν ἄρτον* ('whenever you demanded food I came').

5.1.4. Boeotian

5.1.4.1. Eubulus: *Antiope* (PCG 11, Hunter fr. 12):¹⁶ Athenaeus 10.417B–C

Καὶ ἔθνη δὲ ὅλα εἰς πολυφαγίαν ἐκωμωδεῖτο, ὡς τὸ Βοιωτόν. Εὐβουλος γοῦν ἐν Ἀντιόπῃ φησί:

πῶνεν μὲν ἄμῆς καὶ φαγεῖν μάλ' ἀνδρικοὶ
καὶ καρτερεῖμεν, †τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις λέγειν
καὶ μικρὰ φαγέμεν, τοὶ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μέγα†

πῶνεν edd., *πόνεν* MSS; *φαγεῖν μάλ'* edd., *φαγεῖν μεν/φαγεῖν* MSS; *καρτερεῖμεν* edd., *καρτερῇ μὲν* MSS

And whole nations are satirized for gluttony, like the Boeotians. Eubulus in *Antiope* says; 'We know how to eat and drink steadfastly, like men [and tell the Athenians to eat small meals, while the Thebans eat large ones]'.¹⁶

¹⁶ This play is slightly later (c.380?) than most of the other material under consideration, but the fragment is so important it seems worth including. Less important frgs. of later material which refer to foreign speech are Mnesimachus *PCG* 2, Nicostratus *PCG* 36, Philemon *PCG* 52, Antiphanes *PCG* 33, Philippides *PCG* 36, Epicrates *PCG* 8, 10.

Phonology

There is no sign of $\epsilon\iota$ for Attic η , a sporadic feature of Boeotian in Aristophanes' *Ach.* (4.1.2.3).

Infinitive -εμεν: καρτερεῖμεν, φαγέμεν (both guaranteed): but πώνειν (guaranteed), φαγεῖν, λέγειν (4.2.6.2).

τοί for Attic οί (4.2.3.1).

πῶνεν: a plausible conjecture on semantic grounds; gluttony includes drinking as well as eating. The word is attested in Alcaeus and in West Greek as a variant of *πίνω*.¹⁷

5.I.4.2. Strattis: *Phoinissai* (PCG 49): Athenaeus 14. 621 F–622 A

ξυνίετ' οὐδεν, πᾶσα Θηβαίων πόλις,
 οὐδέν ποτ' ἄλλ'. οἱ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν σπηῖαν
 ὀπιθητοῖλαν, ὡς λέγουσ', ὀνομάζεσθε.
 τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα δ' ὀρτάλῃχον, τὸν δ' ἱατρὸν αὖ
 σάκταν, βέφυραν τὴν γέφυραν, τῦκα δὲ
 τὰ σῦκα, κωπιτιλάδας δὲ τὰς χελιδόνας,
 τὴν ἔνθεον δ' ἄκολον, τὸ γελάν δὲ κριδόμεν,
 νεασπάτωτον δ', ἣν τι νεοκάττυτον ᾗ.

¹⁷ For the vowels that appear in this root (*pōi/pō/pī?) see Leumann (1957); M. Mayrhofer, *Indogermanische Grammatik* i, §7.3.11.

That the Thebans innovate in their speech is illustrated by Strattis in the following section of *Phoinissai*: 'You understand nothing, all you people of Thebes, nothing whatsoever. First of all, they say that you call a cuttlefish *opitthotila*. A rooster you call an *ortalikhos*, a doctor *saktas*, a bridge *bephura*; figs you call *tuka*, swallows are *kotalides*, a morsel of food is an *akolos*, laughter is *kriddemen*, and if something is newly-patched it is *neospatōtos*.

The differences between the Boeotian and Attic dialects are being exploited for the sake of comedy in this passage. There is no doubt that the Boeotian words (the result of 'ignorance'!) are being held up against their Attic equivalents for ridicule. This implies that the words the playwright picks on were known to his audience: otherwise there would be no potential for humour. Four of the terms are synchronically analysable: *οπιτθοτίλα* 'back-fouler', *σάκτας* 'filler-up' (*σάττω*), *κωτιλάδες* 'twitterers' (*κωτίλλω*), and *νεασπάτωτος* (*σπάτος* 'leather'). *ἄκολος* is found in the *Odyssey*. *ὀρτάλιχος* ('chick' at Aesch. *Aga.* 54) is used by the Boeotian at Ar. *Ach.* 871 (4.4.38).¹⁸

On the whole the words are held up as isolated lexical items; consistent phonological or morphological differences between the two dialects are not identified. However, of the nine Boeotian words ridiculed as different, only six are purely lexical: two are the result of phonological differences (*βέφυραν*, *τύκα*), and one (*κριδδέμεν*) is built on a different lexical root, and is also an infinitive with a different morphological pattern.

5.1.4.3. Aristonymus: unknown play (*PCG* 8)

Hesych. *ψώσματα*: παρὰ Ἀριστωνύμῳ πέπαικται ἢ λέξις τῇ Βοιωτῶν διαλέκτῳ.

Hesychius says that the term *psōsmata* was used in a comic rendering of Boeotian dialect by Aristonymus. It is perhaps equivalent to *ψωμός*, *ψώμισμα* 'morsel'; this would be consonant with the usual association of food with Boeotia.

¹⁸ Dover (1987: ch. 25) suggests that some of the Boeotian words in the list may have had obscene overtones in Attic.

5.1.5. *Macedonian?*5.1.5.1. Strattis: *Macedonians*

Athenaeus 7.323 B (= PCG 29)

Athenian: ἡ σφύραινα δ' ἐστὶ τίς;

Xenos: κέστραν μὲν ὕμμες Ὠττικοὶ κικλήσκετε.

Ath. What is a 'sphuraina'? Xen. You Attic folk call it a 'kestra' [type of fish].

Phonologically, this passage exhibits:

ὕμμες: Attic ὕμεις (4.2.2.4)

Ὠττικοί: for the initial vowel cf. 4.1.1.4 above.

It is not clear who the foreigner is. Presumably a Macedonian: the assimilation of resonants (ὕμμ-) is otherwise associated with Lesbian and Thessalian.¹⁹

With regard to the language spoken in Macedonia, Meillet argued that the first influence will have been that of Thessalian, followed by that of Attic.²⁰ Against this, however, Hammond suggested that 'there are strong reasons for concluding that the Macedonian dialect of Greek belonged to the Aeolic group; . . . and that it owed its affinities with Thessalian Aeolic and mixed Aeolic more to a common origin than to any shared development or to continuous contact'.²¹ It must be said, however, that whatever the reasons for supposing this are, they are not linguistic. Our ignorance of the linguistic situation in Macedonia remains almost complete.

5.1.6. *Uncertain Dialect*5.1.6.1. Aristophanes: *Plutus* I (PCG 465)

ῥυφήσαι

Antiatt. 113.11 διὰ τοῦ ν Ἀριστοφάνης Πλούτῳ.

Cf. *Knights* 912 ῥοφήσαι, the Attic form; Eustath. records that Ionians and Dorians say ῥυφεῖν instead of ῥοφεῖν. The form occurs

¹⁹ For a résumé of what little is known of the Macedonian language see Chantraine (1966) and Hammond and Griffiths (1979: 39-54).

²⁰ Meillet (1975: 61).

²¹ Hammond and Griffiths (1979: 48). See also Hammond's recent summary (1994) of the question.

in Hipponax and Hippocrates, and is Ionic according to Photius. The editors of *PCG* see this as evidence of a foreigner on the stage.

5.1.6.2. Aristophanes: unknown play (*PCG* 626)

Suda/Photius: s.v. προσίσχε' τὸ πρόσεχε . . . οὕτως δὲ καὶ ὑπίσχομαι τὸ ὑπισχνούμαι, οἳ τε τραγικοὶ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης·

τὸ πᾶγμα τοῦτο συλλαβεῖν ὑπίσχομαι.

I undertake to have a share in this matter

Kock (615 K.) comments that neither συλλαβεῖν (for συλλήψεσθαι τοῦ πράγματος) nor ὑπίσχομαι is in line with normal Attic usage, and suggests that a foreigner may be speaking. It might also be parodic.

5.1.7. Remarks

5.1.7.1. Aristophanic fragments

A significant difference between the snatches of non-Attic dialect from Aristophanic plays and the longer passages in *Acharnians* and *Lysistrata* is that the Megarian, Boeotian, and Laconian of these two plays are spoken by characters who are supposed to be from Megara, Thebes, and Sparta respectively; whereas the shorter Aristophanic passages above are imitations of foreign dialect in the mouths of Attic characters (and the god Hermes). It seems that dialect-speakers in comedy are linguistically characterized even in quotation. But the language reflects the dramatic function of the character or the quotation. The Sybarite and Hermes' Laconian are distinguished by cliché interjections; this is because of a need to identify them quickly—their roles are short and not particularly significant. In cases such as these Aristophanes' technique (or rather, the technique of Aristophanes' Attic-speaking characters) is similar to that of prose-writers when they wish to introduce a dialect-speaker: an initial interjection may serve to indicate that the *xenos* is speaking in his own dialect, while the rest of the speech is in pure Attic (e.g. Plato, *Phaed.* 62 A, Xen. *Anab.* 6. 6. 34).

These short passages also raise the question of the extent to

which editors are justified in substituting dialect forms in the text without any authority from the manuscript tradition, since it is not possible to use a principle of consistency to justify such changes. For example, in the line of alleged Laconian at *Peace* 212 one can only justify the change of $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\nu$ to $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\nu$ by reference to forms found in *Lysistrata*.

The passage from *Peace* 929 ff. differs from the others, in that an Ionian speaker is not being imitated; the slave is exploiting the difference between two closely related dialects to make a pun. Note that the other suggested sacrificial animals were rejected on equally punning grounds.

The fragments of the lost plays of Aristophanes do not add much to our knowledge of his manipulation of non-Attic dialect. Only the fragment from *Triphales* contains imitation of a different dialect, viz. Ionic.

5.1.7.2. The non-Aristophanic fragments

The evidence, although miserable, is enough to show that Aristophanes' treatment of Greek dialect is not unique, but shared by contemporary comic poets.

In these small pieces of text we can be reasonably certain that, as in the case of *Lysistrata* and *Acharnians*, the speakers are foreign characters. The fragments are too short for us to be certain of very much, except that they do not differ noticeably from our Aristophanic material. The Laconian speakers in *Coraliscus* and *Helots* are similar to those in *Lysistrata* as regards the features with which their dialect is characterized. It is worth remarking, too, that the language of the Boeotian in *Antiope* is much less consistently characterized; this is reminiscent of the Boeotian in *Acharnians*.

5.2. NON-STANDARD ATTIC

In this section we are concerned with passages in which the playwright calls attention to a non-standard pronunciation on the part of a character whom one would normally expect to speak Attic.

5.2.1. Plato Comicus: *Hyperbolus* (PCG 183): Herodian ii
926.3L

Πλάτων μέντοι ἐν Ὑπερβόλῳ διέπειξε τὴν ἄνευ τοῦ γ χρῆσιν ὡς βάρβαρον, λέγων οὕτως·

ὁ δ' οὐ γὰρ ἡττίκιζεν, ὦ Μοῖραι φίλαι,
ἀλλ' ὅποτε μὲν χρεῖη "διητώμην" λέγειν,
ἔφασκε "διητώμην", ὅποτε δ' εἰπεῖν δέοι
"ὀλίγον", { "ὀλίον" } ἔλεγεν.

Plato, however, in his *Hyperbolus* mocked the dropping of *g* as barbarous, as follows: 'He didn't speak Attic, ye gods, but whenever he had to say *dietomen* he said *djetomen*, and when he had to say *oligos* he came out with *olios*'.

Cf. Et. Mag. 621. 51 Ταραντῖνοι γὰρ τὸ ὀλίγος ὀλίος λέγουσιν ἄνευ τοῦ γ . . . Πλάτων μέντοι ὁ κωμικὸς διαπαίζει τὴν λέξιν ὡς βάρβαρον. ('For the Tarantines pronounce *oligos* *olios*, without the *g* . . . but the comic playwright Plato mocks the pronunciation as barbarous.')

In this passage particular linguistic features are being ridiculed as substandard Greek. It appears from the context that the speaker is attributing such forms to a specific (possibly Athenian) individual rather than to an entire dialect. οὐ γὰρ ἡττίκιζεν could indicate merely that the offending person (presumably *Hyperbolus*) spoke a low-class variety of Attic. The comment in the Et. Mag. is not evidence that the playwright is referring to the Tarentines here.

Note that the features which are picked out for censure are ones which would count as 'sloppy' speech, since they appear to be the result of an attempt to minimize the effort of articulation. The pronunciations of *διητώμην* and *ὀλίγον* which Plato attacks may have been approximately [d^(t)ētōmēn] and [oli(y/on)].²² It is not unlikely that pronunciations like these were heard on the streets of Athens. For the notion that sloppy pronunciations attributed to foreigners are actually not far removed from the demotic/low-prestige sociolect see Brixhe (1988) on the language of the Scythian in *Thesmophoriazusae*, and Cassio (1981). Note that the forms criticized here are described as 'barbarous'. For *Hyperbolus*' (allegedly foreign) mother cf. 4.3.6, 5.3.7 below.

²² For *ὀλίος* see Threatte (1980: 440), and Teodorsson (1974: 266).

5.2.2. Aristophanes: *PCG* 706 (unknown play)Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Grammarians* 1. 10. 264

πολλοὶ γάρ, φασιν [οἱ γραμματικοί], εἰςὶ συνήθειαι, καὶ ἄλλη μὲν Ἀθηναίων, ἄλλη δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ πάλιν Ἀθηναίων διαφέρουσα μὲν ἢ παλαιά, ἐξηλλαγμένη δὲ ἢ νῦν. καὶ οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ μὲν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγροικίαν, ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἄστει διατριβόντων. παρὸ καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς λέγει Ἀριστοφάνης

⟨ΧΟΡΟΣ?⟩

διάλεκτον ἔχοντα μέσσην πόλεως

οὔτ' ἀστεῖαν ὑποθλυτέραν

οὔτ' ἀνελεύθερον ὑπαγροικότεραν

They [the grammarians] say that there are many ways of speaking; the idiom at Athens is different from that at Sparta, and the ancient Athenian idiom is different again from the modern one. And the idiom of those who live in rural areas is different from that of city-dwellers. Concerning which Ar. the comic poet says: '[His] language is the normal dialect of the city: not the fancy high-society accent, nor uneducated, rustic talk.'

For fancy urban speech cf. *Knights* 1375 f., where Aristophanes mocks τὰ μειράκια . . . τῶν τῷ μύρῳ ('the lads in the perfume shops') who speak in an affected way and use the latest adjectives in -ικός; *Clouds* 317 f., where Socrates, who is identified with the effete and decadent 'weaker argument', uses abstract nouns in -σις.²³ For the opposite linguistic effect cf. *Birds* 493, where Euelpides tells an irrelevant and rambling story about how he got drunk and had his cloak stolen. His speech, heavily paratactic, is characterized by six consecutive clauses joined by καί.

It is a pity that we have not more of the context of this fragment, since it would be interesting to have an explicit statement of the speaker's attitude to different social dialects within Attic.

5.2.3. Eupolis: *Demes* (*PCG* 99.25)

κοῦδ' ἂν ἡττίκιζεν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς φίλους ἡσχύν[ετο]

And he wouldn't even have spoken Attic if he hadn't been afraid of embarrassing his friends.

²³ See Handley (1953), and also Cassio (1981: 92): 'non escluderei che ὑποθλυτέραν potesse alludere anche a certe mollezze ioniche della lingua colta della città in opposizione al rozzo provincialismo della campagna.'

It is not clear who is being referred to; possibly Hyperbolus or Cleophon. It is remarkably similar to the first line of Plato, *Hyperbolus* 183 (5.2.1 above).

5.2.4. Plato Comicus: *Metics* (PCG 83)

[Ap. Dysc.] *Pron.* 144b: τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ πλαγίου καὶ ἔτι τῶν ὑπολειπομένων οὔτε ῥητὴ ἢ εὐθεΐα, οὔτε συστατή. καὶ ὅτι οὐ ῥητὴ, τουτέστιν οὐ συνήθης, συμφανές, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ ἐν Μετοίκους Πλάτωνος ἀπαξ ἐστὶν εἰρημένη, καὶ ἴσως ἔνεκα τοῦ γελοίου.

Μετοίκους Πλάτωνος edd., *Μετοίκους Φερεκράτους* MSS: cf. Ap. Dysc. *Pron.* 88c.

The nominative case of the reflexive *emautou* (or any of the other possessives) is not expressed, nor can it be formed. And that 'not expressed' means 'not in common usage' is evident: except that it is said once in the *Metics* of Plato, and perhaps for the sake of a laugh.

5.2.5. Aristophanes, *Clouds* 870–3

870 (Pheid.) αὐτὸς τρίβων εἴης ἄν, εἰ κρέμαίό γε.

872 (Socr.) ἰδοὺ κρέμαι'. ὥς ἡλίθιον ἐφθέγγετο
καὶ τοῖσι χεῖλεσιν διερρηγκόσιν.

Soc. Listen to the way he says 'kremai'! How childishly he pronounced it, with his lips spread loosely.

Since there is nothing unusual in the way Pheidippides' words are written, one has to guess from Socrates' criticism how they were pronounced by the actor, and what exactly Socrates is getting at. A rather loose articulation of the consonants seems to be indicated: Dover (ad loc.) suggests that 'slackness of articulation, with inadequate movement of the lips, was characteristic also of the class of young men to which Pheidippides assimilated himself'.

The features which the actor reproduced in his rendering of the lines were no doubt indicators of Pheidippides' age and class, as Dover says; there is, however, no way to represent such a subtle differentiation in the orthography, and without Socrates' comment we should not have any idea of their existence.

5.2.6. *Linguistic Characteristics of Individuals*5.2.6.1. Aristophanes, *Knights* 30–2

Slave A ('Demosthenes') echoes Slave B ('Nicias')

B κράτιστα τοῖνυν τῶν παρόντων ἐστὶ νῶν,
θεῶν ἰόντε προσπείν του πρὸς βρέτας.
A ποῖον βρετέτετας;

βρετέτετας most modern edd.: *βρεττέτας* $\nu\Gamma^2$, *βρετέτας* Σ^E , *βρέτας* *RMaj*. Some sort of emendation is necessary to scan the line. Cf. a scholion ad loc.: ἐν παρολκῇ παίζων 'the extra syllable is a joke'.

B The best thing left for us to do now is to go to the statue of some god and fall at its feet.

A St-st-statue indeed!

Slave A is clearly imitating a stammering noise on the part of his colleague: either Nicias had a congenital stammer (no other evidence for this), or he is stammering out of fear (cf. his earlier word-play to avoid coming out with *αὐτομολῶμεν* 'let's run away').

5.2.6.2. Aristophanes: *Wasps* 44–5

A pun is made out of Alcibiades' lisp:

εἶτ' Ἀλκιβιάδης εἶπε πρὸς με τραυλίσας
"ὀλάις; Θέωλος τὴν κεφαλὴν κόλακος ἔχει."

Then Alcibiades said to me, lisping, 'Do you see? Theolus has the head of a *kolax*'.

The pun is on *κόραξ* 'crow' and *κόλαξ* 'flatterer'. For Alcibiades' lisp cf. Plut. *Alcib.* 1.6.²⁴ There was clearly a high social awareness of lisping as a linguistic feature of the speech of certain individuals; cf. Pl. *Gorg.* 485 B–C for Callicles' opinions on the subject.

5.2.6.3. Aristophanes: *Thesmophoriazusae*

(i) Agathon:

192 *γυναικόφωνος*: Agathon is said to 'speak like a woman'.

²⁴ Vickers (1989) has argued that Alcibiades' lisp is to be seen in many other Aristophanic passages.

(ii) Instructions on how to masquerade as a woman:

267 ἦν λαλήσ δ', ὅπως τῷ φθέγματι
 γυναικίεις εὖ καὶ πιθανῶς.

If you talk, make sure you put on a convincing impression of female speech.

It is not clear what linguistic markers of female speech in the text would look like. There do not appear to be any. There are other markers, such as the use of female deities in oaths, etc. (Compare the reverse situation in *Eccl.* 155 f.) There has been some work recently on the representation of women's speech in Greek literature;²⁵ what seems clear is that there was no recognized distinct women's language in Greece (to compare, for example, with the Sumerian *eme-sal*). Differences are likely to have been suprasegmental, with occasional social distinctions (favoured deities to swear by, etc.).

5.2.6.4. Accentual mistake

The mispronunciation of line 279 of Euripides' *Orestes* by the actor Hegelochus in 408 provided material for the comedians:

ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὐθις αὖ γαλήν' ὄρῳ
 After the storm I see the calm again.

Changing the accent on γαλήν', produces 'polecat' instead of 'calm';²⁶ Ar. *Frogs* 303 f.:

ἔξεστί θ' ὥσπερ Ἡγέλοχος ἡμῖν λέγειν,
 "ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὐθις αὖ γαλήν' ὄρῳ."

. . . and like Hegelochus, we can say 'After the storm I see the polecat again'.

There are similar references to the unfortunate actor's slip in Strattis (unknown play, 63 *PCG*) and Sannyrio (*Danae*, 8 *PCG*).

This case is an oddity. It is not an imitation of the habitual speech of a person; the humour lies in the reproduction of a line spoken on a specific occasion in order to remind the audience of the slip, and to make fun of the actor concerned. Its relevance lies in the fact that the playwrights got a laugh by representing the mispronunciation of a word; this can be contrasted with the

²⁵ Cf. Gilleland (1980), and Bain (1984) for female speech in Menander.

²⁶ See Daitz (1983) on the possible explanations for the slip.

representation of a dialect, where there is no perception of dialect as mispronunciation.²⁷

5.2.7. *Remarks*

References to social varieties of language seem to occur in quite restricted circumstances.

Examples 5.2.1 and 5.2.3 consist of allegations on the part of other characters that a certain political figure speaks low-quality Attic, which may be the result of having a foreign parent. Whereas the (allegedly foreign) parent may be depicted speaking barbaric Greek (cf. 5.3.5–7 below), we have no instances of the representation of sub-standard Greek in the mouth of the political figure under attack. The situation in 5.2.2 is similar. Here someone is being praised for normal, unpretentious speech; the audience is *told* that they speak like this. Assuming that the character being referred to appeared on the stage, this must be because it is rather difficult to characterize someone's speech as normal; only abnormalities can be 'marked' so as to be noticed by the audience.

The case in 5.2.4 is interesting. If Plato really did put someone on the stage who said *ἐμαυτός*, we have an instance of a character speaking substandard Greek. But this is a lexical mistake rather than an example of low-class idiolect, and would be characteristic of a foreigner speaking Attic rather than a native speaker; perhaps therefore it should be thought of as a 'barbarism' (see below) rather than sub-standard Attic.

The presence of peculiarities in the speech of individuals (lipping, etc.) indicates the extent to which comic language could admit the representation of linguistic deviation, and also perhaps the level of awareness in comedy of linguistic variation.

5.3. STRANGE AND BARBARIAN LANGUAGE

In this section we are concerned with (i) speech which is, or (in the case of fragments), is thought to be spoken by a non-Greek

²⁷ In English literature, on the other hand, the assimilation of dialect speech and mispronunciation is common: cf. 1.2.3.

character, and (ii) references to characters who are alleged to be non-native speakers of Greek.

We are not concerned to give an exhaustive list of words of non-Greek origin which appear in Old Comedy.²⁸ Greek, like most languages, had a number of foreign words incorporated into the language; these were more or less assimilated. It is difficult to draw a line between words which were no longer perceived as foreign (e.g. βίβλος) and those which still had an exotic ring (μύτρα). The only circumstances in which we need to look at such words are those cases where the author has used a large number of (marked) foreign words to characterize the speech of a character (e.g. Aeschylus in the *Persians*: cf. 3.3.2.1).

5.3.1. Aristophanes: *Acharnians* 100–7

The Persian ambassador Pseudartabas addresses the Athenian assembly; his remarks are variously interpreted by the Athenian envoy to Persia and by Dicaeopolis.²⁹

Pseud. *ἰαρταμαν ἐξαρχας ἀπισσὼνα σατρα.*

Ath. *ξυνήκαθ' ὃ λέγει;*

Dic. *μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλων ἡγὼ μὲν οὐ.*

Ath. *πέμψειν βασιλέα φησὶν ὑμῖν χρυσίον.*

λέγε δὴ σὺ μείζον καὶ σαφέως τὸ χρυσίον.

Pseud. *οὐ λῆψι χρυσό, χαυνόπρωκτ' Ἰαοναῦ.*

PSAUD. *Iartaman exarxas apisona satra!*

ATH. Did you understand what he said?

DIC. Not me!

ATH. He says that the King is going to send gold to you. You there—say the bit about gold louder and clearer.

PSAUD. You won't get any gold, wide-arsed Iaunian.

It has been disputed whether the Persian ambassador is to be thought of as a 'real' Persian or (118 ff.) an Athenian in disguise. This is a useless question, however, owing to the inconsequentiality of comic plots; and for the purposes of linguistic analysis of this passage it does not matter, since at the time of his entry on to the stage, Pseudartabas is clearly believed to be a Persian.

²⁸ See Wüst (1906) for such a list.

²⁹ The passage has been discussed by Tolman (1906), Friedrich (1918, 1921), Wackernagel (1921), Dover (1963), M. L. West (1968), Chiasson (1984), Schmitt (1984), Brixhe (1988), Morenilla-Talens (1989); cf. also Long (1986: 101 f., 134).

It has been argued that l. 100 represents a real Persian sentence;³⁰ it is much more likely, however, that it is 'gibberish made from Persian noises'.³¹ Line 105 is recognizable Greek,³² though still foreign enough to be open to different comic interpretations. It is characterized by the lack of the inflectional ending on the noun (*χρυσόν*), and *ι* insted of *ει* in the verbal ending.³³ For the Persian habit of identifying Greeks as 'Ionians' compare Herodotus (3.3.1.3.1 above) and Aeschylus (*Persians*, 3.3.2.1.2 above); and for the vowels in *Ἰαοναῦ* see 3.2.2.2 (Sophocles).

5.3.2. Aristophanes: *Birds* 1615–16, 1628–9, 1678–81

The noises made by the Triballian god are interpreted by Heracles to suit himself.³⁴

Her. κάμοι δοκεῖ. τί δαὶ σὺ φής;

Trib. ναβαισατρεῦ.

Her. ὀρῆς; ἐπαινεῖ χούτος.

HER. I think so too. What do you say?

TRIB. *Nabaisatreu*.

HER. You see? He agrees.

Her. ὁ Τριβαλλός, οἰμώζειν δοκεῖ σοι;

Trib. σαὺ νάκα

βακτάρι κρούσα;

Her. φησί μ' εὖ λέγειν πάνν.

HER. Hey, Triballian, do you want a thrashing?

TRIB. *Sau naka baktari krousa?*

HER. He says I'm absolutely right.

Peis. ἐν τῷ Τριβαλλῷ πᾶν τὸ πρᾶγμα. τί σὺ λέγεις;

Trib. καλάνι κόραυνα καὶ μεγάλα Βασιλιναῦ

ὄρνιτο παραδίδωμι.

³⁰ e.g. Tolman (1906): 'Xerxes sends me to harass your kingdom', Friedrich (1921): 'Der frommgesinnte Xerxes an das attische Reich', Dover (1963): 'Iarta by name, son of Xerxes, satrap'.

³¹ M. L. West (1968: 6).

³² 'Nix Gold bekomme, ionische Schweinehund!' (Friedrich, 1921: 102).

³³ Cf. Brixhe (1988: 125 f.).

³⁴ The passage has been discussed by Friedrich (1918), Whatmough (1952), Werner (1981), Schmitt (1984), Long (1986), Brixhe (1988), Morenilla-Talens (1989). For Thracian languages see Brandenstein (1936) and Crossland (1980).

Her. παραδοῦναι λέγει.
 Po. μὰ τὸν Δι' οὐχ οὗτος γε παραδοῦναι λέγει,
 εἰ μὴ †βαδίζειν† ὥσπερ αἱ χελιδόνες.

βαδίζειν: βαβάζει γ' Bentley. Cf. Dover (1972: 6).

PEIS. The whole matter is in the hands of the Triballian. What do you say?

TRIB. *Kalani korauna kai megala basilinai ornito paradidōmi.*

HER. He says we should hand her over.

PO. He's not saying we should hand her over, he's just twittering [?] like the swallows.

The first utterance is nonsense,³⁵ like that of Pseudartabas. The second is intelligible as 'You are going to hit me with the stick?' or 'Don't hit me with the stick.' The third can be understood as 'I give the pretty girl and the great princess to the bird.'

The Triballian's Greek is characterized by the addition of *av* to the end of words, the lack of proper inflectional endings, $\bar{a}$ for η , and inability to pronounce aspirated consonants ($\delta\rho\nu\iota\tau\omicron$).³⁶ Poseidon denies that what he says is intelligible, comparing his speech to the twittering of swallows. The comic 'localization' of gods, and the specific notion that foreign gods do not speak Greek recurs in Lucian (the conceit is developed at some length in *Zeus Tragoedus* and *Parliament of Gods*).³⁷

5.3.3. Aristophanes: the Scythian (*Thesmophoriazusae* 1001–end)³⁸

Bad Greek is spoken by the Scythian archer. In this case there is no gibberish, and the Scythian has a more extended role than Pseudartabas and the Triballian. Scythian was an Iranian language, and the effect on the archer's Greek is consonant with this. His language is analysed in detail by Brixhe (1988). The characteristics include:

Inability to cope with the phonology of Greek:

- (i) π , τ , κ for ϕ , θ , χ .
- (ii) ϵ , η , and ι are confused.

³⁵ Some commentators (e.g. Brandenstein, 1936) have seen *vaí* plus a divine name in the sequence.

³⁶ Cf. Morenilla-Talens (1989: 169 f.) for the Triballian's phonology.

³⁷ See also remarks in 2.4 above.

³⁸ The passage has been discussed by Friedrich (1918), Schmitt (1984), Floyd (1986), Long (1986), Brixhe (1988), Hall (1989b), Sier (1992).

Morphological 'barbarisms':

(i) Grammatical gender is ignored (e.g. τὸ πωνή 1086, καλὴ τὸ σκῆμα 1188).

(ii) Lack of proper inflectional endings (e.g. τό = τοῦ 1103).

(iii) Lack of final -ν and -σ before a consonant or at the end of a phrase; this has its roots in phonology, but leads to a new uninflected paradigm.

Mistakes in syntax and usage:

(i) The incorrect use of cases (e.g. σοι for σε 1007).

(ii) Use of active for middle (e.g. βούλις 1005). See 5.3.4 below.

(iii) Parataxis (e.g. ὀρκῆσι καὶ μελετήσι, οὐ κωλύσ' ἐγώ).

Brixhe demonstrates that many of these features anticipate the later development of Greek, and probably already characterized the demotic language.

5.3.4. Aristophanes: *Peace* 291

A slave imitates the exclamation of a certain Datis (a Persian/Median name). The reference may be to the Datis the Mede who led the Persian expedition against Athens in 490.³⁹

Trygaeus: νῦν τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν'. ἦκει τὸ Δάτιδος μέλος . . .
 "ὥς ἦδομαι καὶ χαίρομαι κεῦφραίνομαι."

Here it comes again, that song of Datis . . . 'How happy and contented and pleased I feel!'

The middle *χαίρομαι* instead of *χαίρω* is an instance of a fairly well-known type of solecism, viz. the confusion of active and middle verbs. Aristophanes' Scythian does the same, and so does the Persian in Timotheus' *Persians* (e.g. the form *ἔρχω*, 791 *PMG*).⁴⁰ Cassio argues that this form is at root an Ionicism, and is found in the mouth of a Persian because Persians learned Ionic dialect.⁴¹

³⁹ 'Sed quis est homo ille qui nomen suum dedit peccato contra leges non naturae dico sed grammaticae?' van Leeuwen (1888: 435). See Hdt. 6. 94 ff. (with commentators ad loc.); also Raubitschek (1957) and Molitor (1986).

⁴⁰ The blurring of the categories active and middle was a feature of post-classical Greek: cf. López Eire (1991: 41). In the classical period this was likely to have been a feature of demotic speech as well as a 'barbarism'.

⁴¹ (1985: 149), following Bers (1984: 111 f.) Radt (1988) argues that Aristophanes wanted the rhyme or jingle that the three middles produce, comparing *Knights* 115 and 1057.

The evidence for Ionic *χαίρομαι* is circumstantial; it is found in *koine* and later Greek.

The expression *τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν'* suggests that the audience were familiar with the phrase which follows. Wilamowitz in his commentary on Timotheus⁴² suggested that it comes from a comedy in which Datis plays a role. Whatever the truth of this, it may have had a proverbial status.

5.3.5. Aristophanes: *Babylonians* (PCG 81): Photius s.v. *στοῖχος*

ἡ που κατὰ στοίχους κεκράζονται τι βαρβαριστί.

Standing in formation they'll scream something foreign

From this and other fragments of the play it seems that the chorus consisted of Babylonians. We do not know the extent to which their Greek was characterized as barbarian; the verb *κεκράζονται* suggests, as Goossens noted,⁴³ exotic cries. Since they are a chorus it seems more likely that their language would have been a comic version of the chorus in Aeschylus' *Persae* (i.e. normal Greek interspersed with cries of the sort that Goossens indicates); it is awkward to imagine them singing in the sort of broken Greek that the Scythian produces.

5.3.6. Plato Comicus: *Cleophon* (PCG 61): Σ on Aristoph. *Frogs* 681

Πλάτων ἐν Κλεοφῶντι δράματι βαρβαρίζουσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν πεποίηκε τὴν μητέρα. καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ Θράσσα ἐλέγετο.

Plato in his play *Cleophon* portrays his mother speaking broken Greek to him. She was called 'Thrassa'.

Comic poets alleged that Cleophon's mother was Thracian (a common form of abuse against politicians); cf. *Frogs* 679–82: *Κλεοφῶντος, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ χεῖλεσιν ἀμφιβάλοις | δεινὸν ἐπιβρέμεται | Θρηκία χελιδών, | ἐπὶ βάραβρον ἐζομένη πέταλον* ('... Cleophon,

⁴² Wilamowitz (1903: 43 n. 1), followed by Molitor (1986).

⁴³ Goossens (1937: 415 f.), 'à cause de κατὰ στοίχους "rangés en files" il semble bien qu'il s'agisse du chœur. Le chœur étant constitué de Babyloniens, on s'attend à ce qu'il se répande en exclamations barbares, comme les Perses d'Eschyle... Il ne s'agit pas ici de chant (*κεκράζονται*) mais de cris, comme: Perses 569 f. (*ἡέ, δά*), 651 f. (*ἡέ*), 1070 (*ἰωά*) et le fameux *ἰανοί* (Ar. Gren. 1029).' See also Welsh (1983).

upon whose double-speaking lips the Thracian swallow shrieks horribly, perched on that barbarian leafage.')

5.3.7. Hermippus: *Breadsellers* (*Artopolides*) (PCG 10)

5.3.7.1. Fr. 10 PCG: Athenaeus 3.119c

ἰδίως δ' ἐσχημάτισται [τὸ τάρικος] παρ' Ἑρμίππῳ ἐν Ἀρτοπώλεισιν
καὶ τάρικος πίονα

The word 'tarikhos' is used in a grammatically peculiar way by Hermippus in the 'Breadsellers'.

The adjective is acc. masc., the noun is neuter. For the varying gender of τάρικος cf. Eustathius (*Il.* p. 73.42 = Philippides PCG 34), who records that according to Herodian the word is found in both the neuter and the masculine.

Meineke suggested that the above fragment of the *Breadsellers* is spoken by Hyperbolus' mother; cf. a scholion on *Clouds* 552, which explains a reference to the lady as follows: 'The mother of Hyperbolus, who appears in the *Breadsellers*. Hermippus said many slanderous things about her.'

5.3.7.2. Fr. 12 PCG

Hesych. δοκιῶ· ἀντὶ τοῦ δοκῶ. ἔπαιξε δὲ Ἑρμιππος ἐν Ἀρτοπώλεσι.

Hesychius reports that Hermippus in the *Breadsellers* has a comic form *dokikō* instead of *dokō*. Cf. Peppler (1921: 157), with additional comments by Kretschmer (1924), for the -κ- infix.

No doubt another slur on Hyperbolus' mother.

5.3.8. Cratinus: unknown play (PCG 421)

Photius/Suda s.v. βადίζου· ἀντὶ τοῦ βάδιζε. οὕτως Κρατίνος.

The Suda records that Cratinus has this form (the middle imper.) instead of the usual active βάδιζε. Cf. 5.3.4 above for active/middle confusion (Kock suggests another Datis figure here).

5.3.9. Aristophanes: *Knights* 520-3

Μάγνης . . . πάσας δ' ὑμῖν φωνὰς εἰς καὶ ψάλλων καὶ πτερυγίζων
καὶ λυδίζων καὶ ψηνίζων . . .

Magnes . . . who produced all sorts of noises for you; plucking strings, fluttering, speaking Lydian, buzzing like a gall-wasp . . .

The verbs contain references to the titles of plays that Magnes produced. Magnes was one of the earliest poets of Old Comedy (Arist. *Poet.* 3).

5.3.10. Eupolis fragments *PCG* 309–11

These are also alleged to contain instances of barbarizing Greek; but they are rather doubtful.

5.3.11. Remarks

Foreigners are similar to dialect speakers in so far as there is an attempt to represent the features of 'barbarian Greek' in the text. Beyond this basic fact the differences are more important. We have seen, however, that there is a slight area of overlap between barbarian and substandard Greek.

An obvious difference between foreigners and dialect-speaking Greeks is that foreigners are able to code-switch between their own language and barbarized Greek, whereas there is no evidence that dialect speakers switch between their native dialects and an incorrect form of Attic.

It is difficult to tell the extent to which the barbarized Greek of the foreigners is supposed to reflect the real accent of foreign speakers from the various locations. We have seen how the first utterance by Pseudartabas is made up out of Persian noises. Apart from this, however, the 'foreign Greek' does not appear to be localized. The Persian and the Triballian share the characteristic of adding *av* to words; Morenilla-Talens argues that assonance of *a* was used as a marker of barbarian speech in both Aeschylus and Aristophanes.⁴⁴ Beyond this the features of bad Greek which they have in common with the Scythian look conventional.

The smaller fragments show the extent to which playwrights were prepared to add barbarized Greek to their texts for various effects; this was clearly a common and accepted feature of comic drama.

⁴⁴ Morenilla-Talens (1989).

5.4. SUMMARY

The data indicate that there was a lively interest in representing different forms of language variety; this seems to have been one of the linguistic conventions which characterized the genre. Furthermore a clear distinction (in terms of both markers and function) is maintained between the various types of linguistic variety; there is no real confusion between social and regional varieties, or between dialect Greek and barbarized Greek.

We can now establish that there is no example in extant Old Comedy of a non-Athenian Greek or barbarian whose speech is not marked as foreign in some way. It is interesting, however, that none of the Aristophanic slaves speaks in a way that is marked as foreign (apart from the Scythian, who is an exceptional case), even though many slaves in Athens were not natives of Attica.⁴⁵ One could offer psychological explanations for this, for example that slaves in the ancient world were not noticed as people, were regarded as part of the furniture, and so on. An explanation in literary terms, however, is more persuasive; it is not part of the dramatic role of the slaves to be foreign, and their speech is therefore not marked as such.

⁴⁵ Compare the slaves at Pl. *Lysis* 223 A who are contemptuously referred to as ὑποβαρβαρίζοντες.

Dialect in Old Comedy: Recapitulation

6.0. PATTERNING OF DIALECT FEATURES

In the analysis of dialect forms in Chapter 4 the phonology sections were set out in such a way as to allow the reader to see what choices the playwright made in the replacement of Attic phonemes. In most cases each Attic phoneme corresponded to two or three different phonemes in each foreign dialect. There is little evidence that Aristophanes created dialect-coloured forms by a mechanical substitution of Attic phonemes on the basis of replacement rules. On the whole his method seems to have been a word-by-word, or lexically-based approach, though this was no doubt underpinned by (perhaps subconscious) generalizations about the phonology.

Of the words listed under Morphology, some look as though they are the result of modifications applied to Attic forms (e.g. verbal endings such as the first person plural in *-μες*; and cf. *δμιώμεθα*, *Lys.* 183); others (such as the pronominal forms) look as though they have been taken over as whole items.

In the opening remarks to Chapter 4 caveats were made about the artificial separation of the words into categories of phonology, morphology, and lexicon. It is unlikely that this division reflects the ancient conception of dialect; and there is no evidence that Aristophanes distinguished between these three aspects of language variation in his rendering of epichoric dialect. We do not find, for example, that phonological colouring is applied to words without the relevant morphological changes. His writing of foreign dialect for the most part seems to merge the three categories into a method of lexical replacement; this leads us to suspect that his rendering of the three dialects in question was based on, and appealed to, a genuine Athenian familiarity with (at least some) non-Attic dialects of Greek. Since the Greek world

seems to have been an area where code-switching was a deeply ingrained part of the linguistic culture (one did not have to translate Homer from dialect to dialect), it is unsurprising that a comic poet could render regional idioms with relative ease, without the need for the handbooks and word-lists that later scholars have occasionally suggested, and which modern literary authors have had recourse to.

6.1. ACCURACY AND CONSISTENCY

The general level of correlation with epigraphic evidence also leads us to conclude that Aristophanes was familiar with some of the non-Attic dialects. The three dialects under consideration are differentiated, and, furthermore, the two West Greek dialects are distinguished. The dialect speech cannot be described as stereotypically marked, although it does contain markers (such as oaths) which would be stereotypical in isolation; the dialect marking is consistent—it does not come and go—and it is applied to all areas of the language (not just, say, to lexicon or phonology). We have also seen that the dialect colouring is not Greek literary dialect: the Laconians do not speak in literary Doric, or the Boeotian in literary Aeolic. This does not rule out the possibility that the comic playwrights took some ideas about orthographic representation from the texts of dialect authors such as Alcman.

Laconian is the dialect which is depicted most carefully by the playwright. Obvious Atticisms are generally avoided; there do not seem to be any false Laconisms (i.e. features peculiar to dialects other than Laconian); and there are all the features which are particularly associated with Laconian (e.g. phonological features such as σ for θ). In general the level of consistency is higher than for the other dialects.

Megarian comes next in terms of the consistency of dialect marking. The phonology, like that of Laconian, is mostly consistent; the morphology of some of the verbal forms is occasionally Attic, and on one occasion (*εἰμεναι*) invented.

Of the three dialects, Aristophanes' Boeotian shows the greatest degree of divergence from the epigraphic material, though even this is not considerable. The number of recognizably Attic forms is proportionately higher, and there may also be some instances of

false dialect forms (not Attic but not Boeotian either, such as ἀδικείμενος). The lack of certain dialect features found in the text of Corinna¹ is positive evidence that the dialect passages were not embellished by Alexandrian editors.

We have noted that all three passages rely to a certain extent on interjections (in the form of oaths) to indicate dialect: the Laconians use ναὶ τῷ σιώ (note that this characterizes Lampito's first line), and ναὶ τὸν Κάστορα (twice). The Megarian uses ναὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν twice, and also swears by τὸν φίλιον, τὸν Διοκλέα, and τὸν Ποτειδᾶ. (The rhetorical σά μάν; is also a characteristic expression.) The first words of the Boeotian are ἔττω Ἡρακλῆς. He subsequently uses νεὶ τὸν Ἰολάον, νεὶ τῷ (?)σίῳ (MSS), and ἔττω Δεός. Such high-level markers perform their function very well against a background of authentic dialect colouring and unobtrusive Attic features. There are no grounds, however, for describing the Aristophanic rendering of dialect as parody or pastiche.

6.1.1. *Dialect and Dramatic Role*

The discrepancies between the representation of Laconian, Megarian, and Boeotian must be judged in the light of the length and nature of the parts they play on the stage.

In *Lysistrata* there are approximately 70 lines of Laconian dialogue, plus 40 lines of lyric. In *Acharnians* there are approximately 68 lines of Megarian; but the Boeotian has less than half this amount (about 31 lines).

There is also a difference between *Lysistrata* and *Acharnians* in the dramatic function of the dialect-speaking characters. In *Lysistrata* there are three Laconian characters (Lampito, a Spartan herald, and a Spartan ambassador), who are not confined to one part of the play, but appear at different points and form an integral part of the dramatic structure. Although the play is a comedy, and all the characters in it are therefore comic characters, the Laconian characters are not *in themselves* absurd, and have a serious role to play (on a par with the Athenian characters) in the movement of the plot, which, after all, hinges on an agreement or treaty between the women of Athens and Sparta. In the *Acharnians*, on the other hand, the two passages of dialect are confined

¹ e.g. ε for αι, υ for οι (4.1.8).

each to a single speaker. These two speakers appear in single scenes, and are each on the stage for approximately a hundred lines. They do not contribute to the movement of the plot (even by Aristophanes' inconsequential standards), but are entertaining vignettes (part of the 'episodic' illustration of Diacaeopolis' peace), each representing regional traits of the cities they come from (of which dialect is a part).

Furthermore, as we anticipated in Chapter I,² there are literary reasons for a number of the forms which do not correlate strictly with epigraphic dialect; for example, a form in Megarian that has not undergone apocope since this would result in four long syllables; two words in Boeotian (*Κωπᾶδων κορᾶν*) which would spoil a parody of Aeschylus if left uncontracted.

We should therefore be wary of making statements to the effect that Aristophanes knew Laconian better than Boeotian on the grounds of a linguistic analysis of the text: there is a clear difference between a non-essential character who speaks just 31 lines (the Theban) and the part played by the Laconian characters in *Lysistrata*. Nevertheless, although the Megarian has more than twice as many lines as the Boeotian, his part is essentially similar, and his dialect seems to be characterized rather more closely than that of his Boeotian counterpart. This may be due in part to the fact that Boeotian was an eccentric dialect in anticipating many of the vocalic changes that common Greek was later to undergo, and may have been more difficult than most dialects for other Greeks to understand.

6.2. CONTRAST WITH OTHER MARKED LANGUAGE

Contrasts with the way Aristophanes portrays other types of 'exotic' or non-standard speech are useful. His Greeks, unlike his barbarians, do not speak pidgin Greek; their language is just as rich, colourful, and dramatic as that of the Attic-speaking characters. We have also noted that each dialect is individually characterized, unlike the speech of the barbarians, which is remarkably undifferentiated. There is no implication that the

² I.2.3, I.2.4.

other Greeks speak 'bad Greek', unlike Athenians who speak with speech defects. The reaction of the other dramatic characters is neutral; misunderstanding and deliberate misinterpretation play no part in the humour. This is in contrast with the reactions to the speech of barbarians.

We saw in Chapter 1 that some literatures develop *stock dialects*, artificial literary dialects which are used both to denote a regional language variety and to suggest various (negative and/or humorous) characteristics of the speaker. The Greek dialect of Old Comedy does not fall into this class (though one might argue that there is a stock barbarian speech). In later Greek comedy a stock dialect emerged around the figure of the Doric doctor. This was a non-localized Doric accent, and it reflects the dramatic role of the character who speaks it; a walk-on/walk-off doctor whose medical status is defined by the way he speaks. This is quite different from the dialect speakers in Aristophanes, who play a variety of different roles. Their function in the play cannot be identified by their accent; neither can their moral character or any other personal characteristics. This contrasts with the function of dialect in English literature, which may indicate criminality, stupidity, or other personality traits.

This is not to claim that there is no linguistic characterization in Aristophanes or Old Comedy; on the contrary, the playwrights were skilful in getting their characters' speech to suggest moral, social, and other characteristics. But regional dialect was not used in this way (see ch. 5.2 above).

6.2.1. *Non-Aristophanic Fragments of Old Comedy*

Since so little Old Comedy apart from Aristophanes has survived it would be unrealistic to expect to find enough material concerning the speech of non-Attic Greeks to allow a detailed comparison with Aristophanes. The data which survive include a four-line passage in Laconian from Epilycus' *Coraliscus*, two or three lines in Laconian from Eupolis' *Helots*, and a three-line passage in Boeotian from Eubulus' *Antiope*.

The passage from *Coraliscus* is remarkably similar to *Lysistrata* in its characterization of Laconian. It is unfortunate that the fragment does not include a word with θ or intervocalic σ , which would allow us to see if these were treated the same way

as in the Aristophanic text. The evidence from Eupolis' *Helots* is even more scrappy; however, the linguistic features (both phonological and morphological) as they stand accord well with *Lysistrata* and *Coraliscus*.

The Boeotian in the *Antiope* fragment is not dissimilar to that of the *Acharnians*; the more extreme vocalic developments are not represented, and there is inconsistency even within the space of a few lines concerning the shape of the infinitive.

6.2.2. *Athenians Imitating Foreigners*

There are four short passages (all of which come from Aristophanes) in which Attic-speaking characters briefly imitate a non-Athenian. There are two snatches of Ionic (*Peace* 41-9; *Triphales* fr. 556 PCG), one of Laconian (*Peace* 212 f.), and one depicting the speech of Sybaris (*Wasps* 1438 f.).

The Ionic passages, in which the speakers are clearly poking fun at the Ionians, are the most accurately represented. This illustrates again that we should not expect a high degree of consistency in the care taken to represent a dialect accurately: it will depend on the context and dramatic function of the passage, and also on the dialect that is being imitated. Thus Philocleon's imitation of a Sybarite speaking contains no features of North-West Greek except a token introductory *ναὶ τὰν Κόραν*. Even Hermes' imitation of Laconian is characterized only by *ναὶ τῷ σιῶ*; in this case it cannot be argued, as it can for Sybaris, that Aristophanes would not have had a good idea of how the dialect sounded. The difference may lie in the *reasons* for which the imaginary dialect-speakers are introduced: the Ionians seem to be having national characteristics mocked in these two passages (though it is impossible to be completely clear about the context of the fragment from *Triphales*), whereas this is not the case with the Sybarite anecdote (Philocleon is simply trying to annoy his accuser, and the location of the *Συβαριτικοὶ λόγοι* was largely conventional) or Hermes' Laconian (in fact, Hermes is trying to show that the Athenians and Spartans have behaved in exactly the same foolish way).

6.3. THE FUNCTION OF DIALECT IN OLD COMEDY

In Aristophanic comedy we see a consistent attempt to represent the dialect of non-Attic characters; no non-Athenian Greek is made to speak in Attic in the extant comedies. The evidence of the other authors of Old Comedy is in line with the situation we find in Aristophanes. We have seen that no major linguistic category is omitted in the representation, but that the accuracy with which details of phonology, morphology, and lexicon are imitated depends on the dialect that is being represented and the dramatic role of the dialect-speaker.

This need not have been the case. Except for brief passages of quotation, prose authors do not represent non-Athenians speaking in their own dialect; the only concession that is made is an initial exclamation (*ἔττω Ζεὺς, ναὶ τῷ σιῷ*, etc.), after which the character speaks in the normal language of literary prose (which is not exactly 'Attic' anyway). Nor did the conventions of Attic tragedy allow the intrusion of epichoric dialect; in this respect tragedy is the natural heir to epic, and the type of realism that imitation of epichoric dialect would imply was alien to this tradition.

The question to be addressed is why the comic playwrights made characters from other areas of Greece speak in their native dialect, when it was customary in both tragic drama and prose to represent these characters speaking either ordinary Attic, or, in the case of tragedy, a variety of poetic Greek unmarked with epichoric dialect features.

An obvious hypothesis is that dialect imitation was introduced for comic effect. A second hypothesis is that foreign characters speak in dialect as part of the realism that is associated with the comic stage. The two are not necessarily incompatible, so long as one does not assume that the dialects were perceived as so absurd that *in themselves* they were a constant source of humour. Compare, for example, differences in cultic practice among the Greek city-states. The differences are alluded to in comedy (in oaths, as well as in the plot and dialogue) and form part of the humorous characterization; but there is no reason to assume that the Greeks found differences in religious practice a source of laughter any more than they found them a source of friction.

A number of considerations weigh against the idea that dialect was introduced simply for the effect of creating an extra laugh. Firstly, one would not expect a high degree of accuracy or consistency if the desired effect was purely comic. Rather, one might expect exaggeration (which lies at the heart of Aristophanic comedy) in the shape of hyper-dialect forms, and a lack of consistency in the linguistic categories represented. Lapses into Attic would also be expected when dramatic attention was momentarily focused on other sources of humour. However, the representation of dialect is absolutely consistent within each play, and we have seen that there are no noticeable discrepancies in the accuracy with which the various linguistic features (e.g. phonological versus morphological) are portrayed. If the desired effect had been purely comic, we should certainly expect to find the imitation closer to parody than representation.

Moving from linguistic to dramatic considerations, we have noted that there are no complaints from other characters that they cannot understand what is being said, and no comic situations which arise from the use of dialect. One would at least want some indication that the Athenian characters are in some way amused, perplexed, or exasperated by the dialect spoken by other Greeks, but this is missing. Note that the type of comedy extracted from the language of the Aristophanic barbarians is restricted in its duration to just a few lines; the audience would quickly tire of extended milking of one source of humour. This consideration has obvious relevance to Aristophanes, and especially to *Lysistrata*, where, as we saw above, the dialect characters are not confined to walk-on/walk-off parts. Dover's Aristophanic principle of 'one thing at a time' tidily captures this:³ comedy in Aristophanes is concentrated on one source at any one time. It follows from this that language can only be the source of the humour when it constitutes the subject-matter of the passage. At other times it is merely the medium (though an authentic one) of the humour. Furthermore, if the dialect were a constant source of comedy, it is doubtful whether this would have been appropriate for the two hymns at the end of *Lysistrata*;⁴ we have seen that there is no

³ Dover (1987): ch. 25.

⁴ Compare, for example, the way a pretext is found for covering up the phalluses at 1093-9 for the business that is to follow.

difference between the Laconian of the choral lyric and that of the ordinary dialogue.⁵

There are two passages in Aristophanes where Athenian characters show that they are aware that another character is speaking in a non-Attic dialect. At *Acharnians* 822 the informer and the Megarian struggle over the Megarian's sack, and the informer snaps κλάων Μεγαριεῖς to the Megarian's protests. This remark⁶ is devoid of any real meaning, save to express the xenophobic irritation of the informer at the Megarian's refusal to co-operate. It would be a mistake to read any major significance concerning attitude to dialect into this; it is simply the case that *any* sort of cultural difference is likely to prove a fertile source of both friction and humour when situations of conflict arise. The second passage is *Lysistrata* 90–2, where Cleonice echoes Lampito's χαῖα ναὶ τῷ σιῷ, which describes the Corinthian woman who has just arrived. Lampito means that the woman seems to be of good family, but Cleonice's reply χαῖα νῆ τὸν Δία | δῆλῃ 'στὶν οὔσα ταυταγὶ τάντευθενί shows that she is taking (or twisting) the word χάϊος to mean 'ample', possibly by association with the verb χαίνειν. But this is no more than a pun which makes fun of the reputation of Corinthian women for being plump (since Corinth was a byword for luxurious living); the fact that Cleonice bases her pun on a word in Lampito's dialect is incidental.

A joke based explicitly on the difference between Attic and another dialect occurs at *Peace* 929–36, where Trygaeus' slave uses the word ὄτ to suggest an animal for sacrifice. This is a cross-dialectal pun, similar to χαῖα above except that neither character is an Ionic-speaker. Its context is a series of similar puns based on Attic words: it reveals Aristophanes' skill in manipulating language, but it does not show that non-Attic dialect was *in itself* comic.

It might be argued that the slightly weaker representation of Boeotian speech, coupled with various passages which are clearly making fun of the Thebans, indicate a negative attitude towards the Boeotian dialect. In a fragment from Strattis' *Phoinissai* (PCG

⁵ Ch. 4.5.

⁶ 'Don't you talk Megarian at me!' or (Sommerstein) 'I'll teach you to talk Megarian!' The remark could conceivably mean: 'You'll regret taking the side of Megara', which would have provoked a laugh owing to the incongruity of being addressed to a Megarian.

49) someone is inveighing against the Thebans because they 'call' various objects by strange names. This is the closest we get to language being used to attack another Greek. The evidence does not, however, allow one to conclude that the Athenians had a negative attitude towards the Boeotian dialect; what we know, and this is supported by the comic evidence, is that the Athenians had a hostile attitude at this period towards Thebes specifically. For this reason anything specifically Theban was ripe for attack, especially if it gave a chance for *doubles entendres* to be introduced.

There is, then, no evidence to support earlier judgements about the use of dialect in comedy such as that of Kaibel (*RE* ii/i. 991): 'To Athenian ears all the other dialects, apart from the (related) Ionic, sounded laughable and half-barbaric.' Critical judgements of this type are echoed by scholars of all nationalities until the second half of the present century (see, for example, Janssens 1952). They reflect, in all probability, the intuitive reaction to non-standard dialect in European literature. Although one effect of the foregoing analysis of comic language has been (on the whole) to reduce the number of 'inaccuracies' in the dialect representation, it should be stressed that it was never part of our aim to justify the poet's command of dialect. The aim was rather to reach a better assessment of the degree of correspondence between the literary dialects and what we know of the epichoric dialects, and to account for the differences in literary and sociolinguistic terms. A general assumption which has underpinned the analysis at all stages, and with which the reader may agree or disagree, is that attitudes to foreign language varieties are not human universals, any more than attitudes to foreign religious systems. There has therefore been a bias in favour of the hypothesis that Greek attitudes to dialect, both on and off the comic stage, will have been different from modern Western attitudes. The hypothesis could have been proved wrong, and people may be unconvinced by the conclusions of the present work. Nevertheless, the notion that Greek dialect had a different function in drama (and other genres) from the one we are accustomed to should be carefully considered before being rejected, given the political and literary background of Western European thought on the uses of non-standard language.

Although Aristophanic plots are not tightly structured, they are economical in the sense that any element that is introduced has

some potential for comedy. It is reasonable, therefore, to expect that this will be true of the foreigners that Aristophanes brings on to the stage. The question to be considered is what precise form this takes. A quick review of *Acharnians* and *Lysistrata* shows how he exploits stereotypical national characteristics as a source of humour. The Megarian is starving (a historical fact, and the result of Athenian action during the Peloponnesian War), but has dreamt up a crafty scheme (*Μεγαρικά τις μαχανά*) to alleviate his plight; he wants to buy garlic and salt, the two principal exports of Megara in peacetime. The Boeotian arrives escorted by pipers, bringing a rich abundance of livestock in keeping with Boeotia's reputation for over-eating. He is not very bright (he does not realize, for example, that Athenian pottery is far superior to the stuff produced in Boeotia). The Laconian women are tanned and muscular, while their men are obsessed with paederasty (1105) and anal intercourse (1148 ff.).⁷

Given this obtrusive level of national characterization it would have seemed very incongruous, and much of the comic effect would have been lost, if Aristophanes had made these figures speak in the same beautiful Attic as his Athenians. While dialect was not a national characteristic like greediness or craftiness which could be parodied and mocked, it was nevertheless part of the package of traits which made up the individual identities of the various Greek city-states. While there were good reasons why epichoric dialect does not appear in tragic drama (I have tried briefly to show that the parallel between comedy and tragedy is specious in this respect), dramatic realism required that it should be represented on the comic stage.

6.4. LANGUAGE ATTITUDE AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

What we know of the political structures of Classical Greece would lead us, in view of modern work on language and political power (some of which we touched on in Chapter 1), to make a number of hypotheses about Greek attitudes to language; evi-

⁷ Cf. Eupolis, *PCG* 385, where *Λακωνίζω* = *παιδεραστέω*.

dence on the use of dialect in Comedy can be measured against these hypotheses as follows:

(i) The Greeks did not think of other dialects of Greek as imperfect approximations of their own dialect; they did not suppose their own dialect to be more *correct* than others.

The evidence from Comedy supports this; but we can add that it only applies to the recognized 'political' (i.e. regional) dialects. There seem to have been (social) varieties of Attic which were regarded as less correct than others.

(ii) They did not suffer from linguistic insecurity; it was accepted without worry that certain types of dialect were appropriate for certain types of literary composition. The reason for this, according to popular belief, was that certain genres were developed in particular regions (or by individuals from particular regions) and that as a result they were associated with the dialect of the region or the individual concerned. This view can be linked to the Greek notion of the 'first inventor' (*πρώτος εὑρετής*), a common aetiological device.

Linguistic insecurity manifests itself in hostility towards the external group, and solidarity-enforcing measures such as humorous attacks. Comedy, which could have provided fertile ground for such manifestations, is not used in this way. There is no evidence from dramatic language for linguistic accommodation, which is common when two linguistic groups feel secure, but we have seen that there may be literary reasons for this.

(iii) The dialect of a group was associated with the supposed characteristics (social, moral, and aesthetic) of that group.

There is some evidence from Comedy which supports this (Ionic, for example, is a suitable dialect in which to vote for a non-aggressive foreign policy). But dialect alone is not sufficient to characterize an individual in this way.

(iv) Some dialects will have been more familiar and hence easier to understand than others. This will have been a function of at least two factors: geographical proximity and genetic affiliation. There will have been others, such as familiarity with literary dialect from particular regions.

The study of Old Comedy, besides lending weight to the above, provides evidence for supposing that Greeks were familiar with the dialects of regions with which they had contact: these included

neighbouring regions (the Megarid and Boeotia from the point of view of Athens) and other regions with a high cultural or political profile (Laconia). This covers the dialects that are represented at length in Aristophanes; whether he could have captured the specific features of dialects outside these two categories (e.g. Cretan) is uncertain.

APPENDIX

Sources for Laconian, Megarian, and Boeotian Dialect

I. GENERAL

(i) *SEG*, which did not appear in the years 1972-8; vol. 25 (1971) covered work till 1969; vol. 26 (1979) covered the years 1976-7. Contains revised texts and interpretations besides newly discovered inscriptions.

(ii) The *Bulletin épigraphique* in *REG* is especially useful for the years missed by *SEG*; it does not usually reproduce the text of inscriptions. It is a couple of years more up to date than *SEG*. Contains revised texts and interpretations besides newly discovered inscriptions.

(iii) The *Bulletin de dialectologie grecque* in *REG* 1985 and 1988 provides general and specific bibliography on the dialects.

(iv) L. H. Jeffery (1990). The emphasis is on early inscriptions (which are not cited for the sake of the dialect). The text is not always reproduced, although many are shown in plates (with transliteration) at the back of the book.

(v) Buck (1955) has a detailed comparative analysis of the dialects; also a small selection of texts with commentary, and a summary of the features of each dialect.

(vi) Schmitt (1977) gives a summary of scholarship to date with a useful bibliography.

2. LACONIAN

Areas: Laconia, Messenia, Taras (Spartan colony, S. Italy; founded late 8th c.), Heracleia (Tarantine colony, S. Italy; founded 423 BC).

The last two books to appear which dealt extensively with Laconian date from about the same period: Thumb-Kieckers (1932) and Bourguet (1927). Bourguet is especially useful as he includes the text of the 44 inscriptions then extant, which, despite being out of date, give a good introductory feel for the dialect.

The volume of *IG* containing Laconian and Messenian inscriptions

appeared in 1913 (*IG* v/1, ed. Kolbe). However, owing to the appearance of the two handbooks above, it is possible to take 1930 as a rough starting-point for the investigation of epigraphic sources.

The principal sources are:

(i) *SEG*. The first volume to appear after 1930 that included Laconian material was 11 (1954). This contains a lot of material (over 500 entries). Thereafter volumes of *SEG* list only a handful of entries for Laconian. Of these vol. 26 (1979) has probably been the most important, containing fifteen entries (454–68). These include the treaty between the Spartans and certain 'Aitoloi' (no. 461), and dedications to Helen and Menelaus which contain interesting forms of the name Helen.

(ii) *Bulletin épigraphique*. Useful references include: 1973, 195; 1976, 269; 1990, 419; 1991, 297, 299; 1992, 256 (an addition to *IG* v/1. 1 = Matthaïou/Pikoulas in *Horos*, 7 (1989), 79–124.

(iii) Jeffery (1990) contains a catalogue with 67 references to Laconian inscriptions, 14 to Messenian inscriptions. The Supplement lists 20 new references for Laconian, 3 for Messenian, and 3 for Taras. Some of these are recorded in *SEG*. References to inscriptions that appeared after 1930 are as follows:

Laconia: 7, 8 (*SEG* 33. 314), 11 (*SEG* 30. 503), 14 (*SEG* 11. 890), 15 (*SEG* 11. 1180a), 16, 19 (*SEG* 11. 1214), 20 (*SEG* 14. 355), 61, 66 (*SEG* 12. 483, 32. 1082), 67.

Messenia: 1, 4, 8.

Taras: 1, 2, 4, 7.

(iv) Boring (1979) contains an appendix with a list and description of 95 sixth- and seventh-century inscriptions, and a further 35 fifth-century inscriptions or groups of inscriptions. Just ten of the references are to inscriptions found after 1930: these are nos. 75–84, which all refer to pottery fragments recorded in *BSA* 30 (1929–39); some are included in *SEG* 11. The text (generally fragmentary dedications) is often given.

(v) Santoro (1973) included a corpus of Tarantine inscriptions (pp. 195–229).

3. MEGARIAN

Areas: Megara (incl. Aegosthena, Pagae), Megara Hyblaia (Megarian colony, Sicily; founded mid 8th c., destroyed 483 bc), Selinous (colony of Megara Hyblaia, Sicily; founded mid 7th c.), Chalcedon (Megarian colony, Bosphorus; founded early 7th c.).

The volume of *IG* containing Megarian inscriptions appeared in 1892 (*IG* vii, ed. Dittenberger). Since Megarian is covered in Thumb–Kieckers

(1932), it is possible, as in the case of Laconian, to take 1930 as a rough starting-point for the investigation of epigraphic sources.

The evidence from the colonies is more abundant for the early period than evidence from Megara itself. These colonies are well covered in two recent books: see (vi) and (vii) below.

The principal sources are:

(i) *SEG*: the first volume to appear after 1930 that included Megarian material was 12 (1955). The volume containing the most substantial amount of material (60 entries) is 13 (1956). *SEG* 26 (1979) is important for inscriptions from Selinous (nos. 1105–16: a new batch of *defixiones*). Apart from this, volumes of *SEG* list only a handful of entries for Megara and colonies.

(ii) *Bulletin épigraphique*.

(iii) Jeffery (1990) contains a catalogue with fifteen references to Megarian inscriptions, fourteen to inscriptions from Selinous, and six references to inscriptions from Megara Hyblaia. The Supplement lists three new references for Megarian, nine for Selinous, and six for Megara Hyblaia. Some of these are recorded in *SEG*.

References to inscriptions that appeared after 1930 are as follows:

Megara: 1, 2 (*SEG* 13. 306), 4 (*SEG* 13. 300), 5 (*SEG* 13. 314, 24. 433), 6 (13. 305).

Selinous: 38b, 38c.

Megara Hyblaia: 25 (*SEG* 14. 599, 29. 924), 29 (*SEG* 26. 1089), 30.

(iv) Merkelbach's *IvK*: each entry comprises a description of the text, a transcription and (in some cases) a reproduction, a German translation, and a commentary. Index at the back of the book.

(v) Miguel E. Pérez Molina, *Index verborum in inscriptiones Megarae et coloniarum* (Hildesheim, 1991): an index based on *IG*, *CIG*, *SEG*, Schwyzler, D³, Merkelbach's *IvK*. Gives the location, nature, and date of the inscriptions where possible.

(vi) Chapter 2 of Dubois (1989) is devoted to the Megarian colonies. Text, commentary, and bibliography are given for each inscription. The collection is not exhaustive; the oldest and most important texts are included. Useful indexes at the back.

(vii) Arena (1989) contains inscriptions prior to the end of the fifth century. Text, commentary, and bibliography are given for each inscription, with plates at the back. Also contains linguistic observations and indexes.

(viii) Jameson *et al.* (1993) give the text of a lengthy *lex sacra* from Selinous, with translation and commentary.

4. BOEOTIAN

Areas: the towns of Boeotia, central Greece.

The volume of *IG* containing Boeotian inscriptions appeared in 1892 (*IG* vii, ed. Dittenberger). The two most recent handbooks dealing with Boeotian are Thumb-Scherer (1959) and Blümel (1982).

The following publications provide an up-to-date overview of Boeotian material:

(i) The Supplement in Jeffery (1990) lists fifteen new references for Boeotian (two for the period 1980-90). Some of these are recorded in *SEG*.

(ii) Blümel (1982) is a study of the phonology and morphology of the Aeolic dialects, presented in generative terminology. There are appendices at the back entitled (I.1) 'Verbesserte Lesungen und Re-editionen von IG-Inschriften', and (I.2) 'Nach den IG publizierte Inschriften'.

(iii) P. Roesch, *La Béotie antique* (Paris, 1985), pp. 15-40: a survey of publications 1952-83, including a section on dialect and a review of Boeotian corpora.

(iv) A seven-year (1985-91) review of Boeotian epigraphy by D. Knoepfler in *Chiron*, 22 (1992), 411-503.

Short Glossary of Linguistic Terms

Note: an asterisk in front of a form indicates that it is reconstructed (not actually attested).

Ablaut. Vowel alternation within a word which has a semantic/grammatical significance: e.g. Engl. *sing* → past *sang*, or Gk. ἔλειπον (imperf.) vs. ἔλιπον (aor.). In an Indo-European context it denotes the various 'grades' of an I-E root, stem, or suffix: (i) full grade with *e* or *o* (cf. Gk. φέρω 'I carry', φόρος 'burden'); (ii) zero grade (Gk. δίφρος 'chariot'); and (iii) a 'lengthened' grade with $\bar{e}$ or $\bar{o}$ (Gk. φῶρ 'thief').

Analogical levelling. The smoothing out of irregularities in the grammar of a language by means of analogy: thus the Latin nominative *honōs* ('honour') was replaced by *honor* because the oblique cases have a stem in *honōr-* (e.g. the gen. *honōris*: this is due to a perfectly regular development of *s* between two vowels in Latin).

Assimilation. The influence of one sound on the articulation of a neighbouring sound, with the result that the two sounds become more similar (or identical): thus Lat. *affligō* has a participle *afflictus*, in which the *g* has lost its voice owing to the following (voiceless) *t*. Note also that in this word the *d* (*adf-*) has assimilated completely to the following *f* (*aff-*).

Back vowel. A vowel articulated with the back of the tongue: as /ɔ:/ in *all*, /u:/ in *cool*.

Close vowel. A vowel articulated with the tongue high and close to the roof of the mouth: as /i:/ in Engl. *sheep*, or /e/ in Fr. *thé*.

Compensatory lengthening. The lengthening of a vowel to 'compensate' for the loss of a consonant in a following cluster: thus Lat. *īdem* < **is-dem* 'the same', Common Gk. ἐφᾶνα (Attic ἐφῆνα) < **ephan-sa* (aor. of φαίνω, 'appear').

Dental. A consonant produced with the tip of the tongue against the teeth: as /t/ in Fr. *ton* or /θ/ in Engl. *thin*.

Diachronic. See *Historical*.

Fricative. A consonant caused by friction rather than closure (for which see *Stop*): as /θ/ in Engl. *thin* (contrast *tin*) and /f/ in *fin* (contrast *pin*).

Front vowel. A vowel articulated with the front of the tongue: as /i:/ in *beat*, /ɪ/ in *bit*, /e/ in *bet*.

***H₁ *H₂ *H₃.** The so-called 'laryngeals', three phonemes (perhaps semivocalic/semiconsonantal, like *i* and *m*) which were originally posited for Indo-European to explain puzzling irregularities in vowel-length. When Hittite was deciphered in the early 20th century it was found that in some circumstances they appear as *h*. I-E laryngeals can both colour and lengthen adjacent vowels in the daughter languages. Their precise phonetic quality is unclear. See further Sihler §§165–7.

Historical. A historical (or *diachronic*) linguistic approach (such as comparative philology) studies the development of a language over time; whereas a *synchronic* approach studies its state at a particular point in time (concentrating on the structure and ignoring the history).

Labiovelars. Three phonemes reconstructed for Indo-European, written *k^w, *g^w, *g^wh. As the name suggests, they are velar consonants with lip-rounding (with k^w as in Engl. *queen*, for example). In Greek *k^w was continued as π, τ, or κ (depending on the phonetic context); *g^w as β, δ, or γ; and *g^wh as φ, θ, or χ. There are some minor variations among the dialects.

Morphology. The branch of linguistics which studies the structure or form of words; either the formation of the word itself ('lexical m.'), or the inflections of the word ('inflectional m.').

Open vowel. A vowel articulated with the tongue low in the mouth: e.g. /a/ in Engl. *mar*, or /ɛ/ in Fr. *mère*.

Paradigm. A set of grammatically conditioned forms from a single 'word' (root or stem): e.g. the forms of the noun *mensa* in Latin.

Phonetic transcription. An attempt to represent more or less accurately the sounds of a language (depending on how much phonetic detail the transcription includes). A phonetic transcription is written between square brackets, as in Gk. *a* = [a], etc. The signs used in this book to render Greek vowels include the following (a colon denotes a long vowel):

[ɛ:] a long open *e*, similar to the second vowel in Fr. *élève*

[e:] a long close *e*, similar to the first vowel in Fr. *élève*

[ɔ:] a long open *o*, similar to the vowel in Engl. *law*

[o:] a long close *o*, similar to the vowel in Fr. *côte*

(Allen 1987 is the best account of the pronunciation of Ancient Greek.)

Phonology (segmental and prosodic). The branch of linguistics which studies the sound-system of a language: the *segmental* (or linear) phonemes of a language (written between slash brackets, as /i:/ in Engl. *sheep*) are the acoustic building-blocks. *Prosodic* features include accent (pitch or stress) and spread over one or more of the linear phonemes.

Recharacterization. An odd-looking (or morphologically isolated) word may prompt speakers to reinforce its form (on the model of another

word) to make its function clearer. Thus Engl. dialect (US, Irl.) *yous* is a recharacterized form of *you* (plur.).

Stop (or *plosive*). A consonant produced by a closure of the air-stream which is then released: as in Engl. /k/ (*cat*), /p/ (*pat*), /t/ (*top*).

Synchronic. See under *Historical*.

Velar. A consonant produced by the back of the tongue against the *velum* or soft palate (and sometimes against the back part of the hard palate): as /k/ in *cat*, /g/ in *get*.

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